John Adams.

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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

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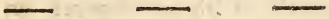
N° 22.		1
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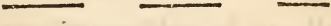
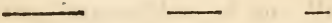
24.		16
25.		23
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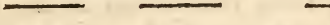
27.		38
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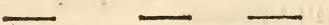
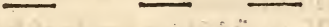
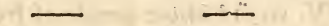
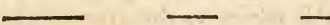
29.		52
30.		59
31.		65
32.		71
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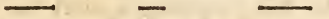
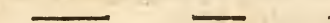
34.		85
35.		91
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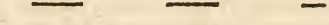
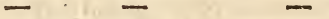
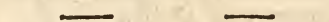
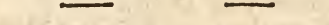
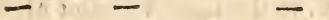
39.		117
40.		124
41.		131
42.		137
43.		143
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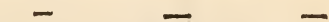
47.		166
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THE

THE

EXAMINER.

No. 22. Thurſday, January 4. 1710.

Nullæ ſunt occultiores inſidiæ, quam eæ, quæ latent in ſimulatione officii, aut in aliquo neceſſitudinis nomine.

The following anſwer is written in the true ſtyle, and with the uſual candour of ſuch pieces; which I have imitated to the beſt of my ſkill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely ſatisfied with it.

The EXAMINER croſs-examined; *or, A full anſwer to the laſt* EXAMINER.

IF I durſt be ſo bold with this author, I would gladly aſk him a familiar queſtion: *Pray, Sir, who made you an examiner?* He talks in one of his inſipid papers of *eight or nine thouſand corruptions*, while *we* were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c. Hor.

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, *the Queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church.* Here is *priestcraft* with a witness! This is the constant language of your *highfliers*, to call those who are *hired* to teach the *religion of the magistrate*, by the name of the *church*. But this is not all; for in the very next line he says, *it was hoped the nation would have followed this example.* You see the *faction* begins already to speak out: this is an open demand for the abbey-land; this furious zealot would have us *priest ridden* again, like our Popish ancestors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts; else we have spent so much blood and treasure to very little purpose in maintaining *religion* and the *revolution*. But what can we expect from a man who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? *A country*, says he, *may flourish* (these are his own words) *without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages.* What! we must immediately banish, or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the exchange, but the kingdom; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot; and make it high treason to speak any other tongue but English. In another place he talks of a *serpent* with *seven heads*, which is a manifest corruption of the text; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what *serpent* he would mean; a *serpent* with *fourteen legs*; or indeed no *serpent* at all, but seven great men, who were the *best ministers*, the *truest Protestants*, and the most *disinterested patriots*, that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist; he finds fault with convocations; says they are *assemblies strangely contrived*; and yet lays the fault upon us, that we *bound their hands*; I wish we could have bound their

their *tongues* too. But, as fast as their *hands* were bound, they could make a shift to hold their *pens*, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefullest party and ministry that ever *proscribed* to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to *see a majority of prelates cried up by those who are enemies to the character*: Now, I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praise of his friends. *Time and mortality*, he says, *can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church*: that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast: you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one *comfortable loss* in Spain, although by a general of our own: for joy of which our junto had a merry meeting at the house of their great proselyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such *blows* would perhaps set us right again; and then we can employ mortality, as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that *three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made public*. I suppose he would be content with *one*; and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence or Latin*; which is all I shall say to this malicious *innuendo*.

Having thus, I hope, given *a full and satisfactory answer* to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove by several undeniable instances that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy, wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what

I am to say were to be written in brass for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their *last good office*, and will never *rise* to preserve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church-defenders, who were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

First, St. Paul tells us, *there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest*; and therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of the truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of *God almighty*, (because that was a *foreign jurisdiction*), and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because *charity* is the most celebrated of all Christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and, instead of shutting the church against *dissenters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its wals*, rather than that any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consisteth in the number of people, how different soever in their callings; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their *creeds*? For that reason they charitably attempted to abolish the *test*, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by several *malignant Tories*, and denied as a slander by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these: "Was your test repealed? had we not a majority? might we not "have done it, if we pleased? *To which the others "answer*, You did what you could: you prepared "the way, but you found a fatal impediment from "that quarter, whence the sanction of the law "must come; and therefore, to save your credit, "you condemned a paper to be burnt, which your-"selves had brought in." But, alas! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of the church had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a *Presbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the *test*. It was accordingly done with great art; and, in the preamble several expressions of civility to the *established church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all those who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all Christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very words (only formed into an *oath)* which Quakers are obliged to profess by a former act of parliament; as I shall here set them down: "I, *A. B.* profess faith in God the Father, "and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true "God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed "for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy "scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be "given by divine inspiration." This bill was carried to the chief leader, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath. What should they do? Those few among them who fancied they believed in *God*, were sure they did not believe in *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one

syllable of the *Bible*; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters, which indeed they had been always too sincere to disguise; how therefore could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendons and all the tribe of freethinkers, and so *give a scandal to weak unbelievers?* Upon this nice point of honour and conscience the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the *test* let fall, and the *sacrament* left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because *the harvest was great, and the labourers few*, and because they would ease the bishops from that grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible consequence of *unchurching* those who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn sleeves*. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization of priesthood?*

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *second* and *third person*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness to the clergy, and that true love of virtue, so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing by *education* and *prejudice*.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts, as too great variety of subjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon, and in

in what manner, that they might be at no loſs; and this, no doubt was a proper work for ſuch hands, ſo thoroughly verſed in the theory and practice of all chriſtian duties,

Seventhly, To ſave trouble and expenſe to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* ſhould meet as ſeldom as poſſible; and when they were ſuffered to aſſemble, would never allow them to meddle with any buſineſs; becauſe, *they ſaid*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the *whole man*. For the ſame reaſon they were very deſirous to excuſe the biſhops from ſitting in parliament, that they might be at more leiſure to ſtay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I ſhall mention at preſent but one more inſtance of their pious zeal for the church. They had ſomewhere heard the maxim, That *ſanguis martyrum eſt ſemen eccleſiæ*; therefore, in order to *ſow this ſeed*, they began with *impeaching a clergyman:* And that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumſtance, they proceeded as much as poſſible againſt common law; which the *long-robe part* of the *managers* knew, was in an hundred inſtances directly contrary to all their poſitions, and *were ſufficiently warned of it beforehand*; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a ſudden; for a certain grea perſon (whoſe character hath been lately publiſhe t by ſome ſtupid and lying writer) who very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for forwarding this *impeachmen'*, had ſeveral years ago endeavoured to perſuade the late King to give way to juſt ſuch another attempt. He told his Majeſty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous ſermons, and that the only way to put a ſtop to ſuch inſolence was to impeach him in parliament. The King inquired the character of the man: "O "Sir, *ſaid my Lord*, the moſt violent, hot, poſi-"tive fellow in England; ſo extremely wilful, that

"I

" I believe, he would be heartily glad to be a mar-
" tyr. *The King anſwered*, Is it ſo ? Then I am
" reſolved to diſappint him ;" and would never hear more of the matter ; by which that hopeful project unhappily miſcarried.

I have hitherto confined myſelf to thoſe endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of *our* party ; but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce ſeveral inſtances of particular perſons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character ſo juſtly due to the whole body I ſhall at preſent mention only two, and illuſtrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and *true lover* of the church, whom a *late Examiner* is ſuppoſed to reflect on under the name of *Verres*, felt a pious impulſe to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Glouceſter ; but how to do it in the moſt decent generous manner, was the queſtion. At laſt he thought of an expedient : one morning, or night, he ſtole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that which in cleanly phraſe is called *diſburdening of nature*. He was diſcovered, perſecuted, and condemned to pay a thouſand *pounds* ; which ſum was all employed to *ſupport the church*, as, no doubt, the benefactor meant it.

There is another perſon, whom the ſame writer is thought to point at under the name of *Will Bigamy*. This gentleman, knowing that marriage-fees were a conſiderable perquiſite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the *good of the church*. His invention was to marry a ſecond wife, while the firſt was alive, convincing her of the lawfulneſs by ſuch arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the ſame example. Theſe he had drawn up in writing, with intention

intention to publiſh for the *general good*; and it is hoped, he may *now* have leiſure to finiſh them.

No. 23. Thurſday, January 11. 1710.

Bellum ita ſuſcipiatur, ut nihil aliud niſi pax quæſita videatur.

I AM ſatisfied, that no reaſonable man of either party can juſtly be offended at any thing I ſaid in one of my papars relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down perhaps many perſons may conclude, that I had a mind, the world ſhould think there had been occaſion given by ſome late abuſes among men of that calling; and they conclude right; for my intention is, that my hints may be underſtood, and my quotations and allegories applied; and I am in ſome pain to think, that in the Orcades on one ſide, and the weſtern coaſts of Ireland on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *key* in ſeveral parts, which I wiſh I could furniſh them with. As to the French King, I am under no concern at all: I hear he hath left off reading my papers, and by what he hath found in them, diſlikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends, either to make great additions to his armies, or propoſe new terms for a peace. So falſe is that which is commonly reported of his mighty ſaisfaction in our change of miniſtry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the *Tories* of Great Britain muſt either have been extorted from him, againſt his judgment; or was a caſt of politics to ſet the people

people againſt the preſent miniſtry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* ſucceeded.

But, though I have never heard, or never regarded, any objections made againſt that paper which mentions the army; yet I intend this as a ſort of apology for it. And firſt I declare, (becauſe we live in a miſtaken world), that in hinting at ſome proceedings, wherein a few perſons are ſaid to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much deteſted that barbarous injuſtice among the writers of a late party to be ever guilty of it myſelf; I mean the accuſing ſocieties for the crimes of a few. On the other ſide, I muſt take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions, than other numbers of men. The maxims propoſed were occaſionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, becauſe I am ſure, conſidering what hath paſſed, it would be a crime to think otherwiſe. All poſts in the army, all employments at court, and many others are, *or ought to be*, given and reſumed at the mere pleaſure of the prince; yet when I ſee a great officer broke, a change made in the court, or the miniſtry, and this under the moſt juſt and gracious princeſs that ever reigned, I muſt naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent conſiderations, and for ſome great demerit in the ſufferers. But then, is not the puniſhment ſufficient? Is it generous or charitable to trample on the unfortunate, and expoſe their faults to the world in the ſtrongeſt colours? And would it not ſuit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without queſtion; provided it could be ſo contrived, that their very names, as well as their actions, might be forgotten for ever; *ſuch* an act of oblivion would be for the honour of our nation, and beget a better opinion of us with poſterity; and then I might have

have ſpared the world and myſelf the trouble of *examining*. But at preſent there is a cruel *dilemma* in the caſe; the friends and abettors of the late miniſtry are every day publiſhing their praiſes to the world, and caſting reflections upon the preſent perſons in power. This is ſo barefaced an aſperſion upon the Queen, that I know not how any good ſubject can with patience endure it, although he were ever ſo indifferent with regard to the opinions in diſpute. Shall they who have loſt all power and love of the people, be allowed to ſcatter their poiſon; and ſhall not thoſe, who are at leaſt of the ſtrongeſt ſide, be ſuffered to bring an antidote? and how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them ſee, that theſe diſcarded ſtateſmen were juſtly laid aſide; and producing as many inſtances to prove it as we can? not from any perſonal hatred to them, but in juſtification to the beſt of queens. The many ſcurrilities I have heard and read againſt this poor paper of mine, are in ſuch a ſtrain, that, conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, they look like a jeſt. They uſually run after the following manner: "What! ſhall this inſolent "writer preſume to cenſure the late miniſtry, the "ableſt, the moſt faithful, and trueſt lovers of "their country and its conſtitution, that ever ſerv-"ed a prince? Shall he reflect on the beſt houſe "of commons that ever ſat within thoſe walls? "Hath not the Queen changed both for a miniſtry "and parliament of *Jacobites* and *highfliers*, who "are ſelling us to France, and bringing over the "*pretender?*" This is the very ſum and force of all their reaſonings, and this is their method of complaining againſt the Examiner. In *them* it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the miniſtry and parliament ſhe hath choſen with the univerſal applauſe of her people: in *us* it is inſolent to defend her Majeſty and her choice, or to anſwer

anſwer their objections by ſhewing the reaſons why thoſe changes were neceſſary.

The ſame ſtyle hath been uſed in the late caſe concerning ſome gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raiſed by a ſet of men, who had the boldneſs to tax the adminiſtration with cruelty and injuſtice, that I thought it neceſſary to interfere a little, by ſhewing the ill conſequences that might ariſe from ſome proceedings, although without application to particular perſons. And what do they offer in anſwer? Nothing but a few common places againſt *calumny* and *informers*; which might have been full as juſt and ſeaſonable in a plot againſt the ſacred perſon of the Queen.

But, by the way, why are theſe idle people ſo indiſcreet to name thoſe *two words*, which afford occaſion of laying open to the world ſuch an infamous ſcene of *ſubordination* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* * refuſed to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I diſapprove their ſagacity, who could foretel ſo long before by what *hand* they ſhould one day fall, and therefore thought any means juſtifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But waving this at preſent, it muſt be owned in juſtice to the army, that thoſe violences did not proceed ſo far among them as ſome have believed; nor ought the madneſs of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the reſt, I am ſo far from denying the due praiſes to thoſe brave troops, who did their part in procuring ſo many victories for the *allies*; that I could with every officer and private ſoldier had their full ſhare of honour, in proportion to their deſerts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was propoſed that

* Greg.

the

the ſtatue of Miltiades ſhould be ſet up alone in ſome public place of the city, ſaid, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late miniſtry before the preſent; or, if wiſhing alone could be of any uſe, for wiſhing their continuance, becauſe then they might be ſecure of the war's continuance too; whereas, ſince affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under ſome apprehenſions of a peace; which no army, eſpecially in the courſe of ſucceſs, was ever inclined to; and which all wiſe ſtates have in ſuch a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point wherein the civil and military politics have always diſagreed: and for that reaſon I affirmed it neceſſary in all free governments, that the latter ſhould be abſolutely in ſubjection to the former; otherwiſe one of theſe two inconveniencies muſt ariſe, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* inſtitution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all that hath been ſaid of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great ſucceſſes abroad; nor is it their fault, that thoſe important victories had no better conſequences at home, tho' it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and buſineſs: to improve and cultivate the advantages of ſucceſs, is an affair of the cabinet; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakneſs or corruption, according to the uſual uncertainty of wars, may be of the moſt fatal conſequence to the nation. For, pray let me repreſent our condition in ſuch a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the conſequences I ſhall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years bleſſed with a Queen, who, beſides all virtues that can enter into the compoſition of a private perſon, poſſeſſeth every regal quality that can con-

tribute to make a people happy: of great wiſdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counſellors: of much diſcernment in chuſing proper inſtruments, when ſhe follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that exceſs of goodneſs, which makes her judge of others by herſelf: frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion ſhe doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her ſubjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all who want or deſerve; and, in order to exerciſe thoſe virtues, denying herſelf all entertainments of expenſe, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at leaſt in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual ſucceſs in battles and ſieges; not to mention ſeveral fortunate actions in Spain. Theſe facts being thus ſtated, which none can deny; it is natural to aſk, how we have improved ſuch advantages, and to what account they have turned? I ſhall uſe no diſcouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worſe by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the beſt phyſicians, before the caſe grows deſperate. But I would aſk, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made ſo little uſe of ſuch prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremeſt degree of folly and corruption; and where thoſe have lain, let the world judge. Inſtead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wiſe ſtates, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to expreſs our wiſhes for it; and ſuch a condition impoſed, as was never offered to any prince who had an inch of ground to diſpute; *quæ enim eſt conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi poteſt?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who ſat at home, and were called to conſult upon

upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an end to a long, expensive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword; they had no share in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the Queen saw through their designs; that they had entirely lost the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were against them; that they were detested by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at end. For these reasons they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters so fast, as in a little time must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And indeed, if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, "he had "rather be devoured by wolves than by rats." I therefore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less, than infallible ruin and slavery to a state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called, *The management of the war*; written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth *examining*, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

No 24. Thursday, Jaunary 18. 1710.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

HOPES are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have some recourse, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up since their fall some real and some pretended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was discarded, they *hoped* her Majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They *hoped*, nobody durst advise the dissolution of the parliament. When this was done, and further alterations made in court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation

nation. They likewiſe *hoped*, that we ſhould have ſome terrible loſs abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their *hopes*, whether real or aſſumed, there is none more extraordinary than that which they now would ſeem to place their whole confidence in: that this great turn of affairs was only occaſioned by a ſhort madneſs of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are opened, and they grow cool and ſober enough to conſider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that ſome few of the deepeſt ſighted among theſe reaſoners are well enough convinced, how vain all ſuch *hopes* muſt be: but for the reſt, the wiſeſt of them ſeem to have been very ill judges of the people's diſpoſitions; the want of which knowledge was a principal occaſion to haſten their ruin; for ſurely, had they ſuſpected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run againſt it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are ſo blind, as to imagine ſome comfort from this fantaſtical opinion; that the people of England are at preſent diſtracted, but will ſhortly come to their ſenſes again.

For the ſervice therefore of our adverſaries and friends, I ſhall briefly *examine* this point, by ſhewing what are the cauſes and ſymptoms of a people's madneſs; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's obſervation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do ſeldom miſtake their true intereſts; and indeed they naturally love the conſtitution they are born under; never deſiring to change, but under great oppreſſions. However, they are to be deceived by ſeveral means. It hath often happened in Greece, and ſometimes in Rome, that thoſe very men who have contributed to ſhake off a former tyranny, have, inſtead of

reſtoring the old conſtitution, deluded the people into a worſe and more ignominious ſlavery. Beſides, all great changes have the ſame effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top; the loweſt plebeians riſe to the head of affairs; and there preſerve themſelves, by repreſenting the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new myſteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewiſe been a frequent topic to miſlead the people. And not to mention more, the promoting falſe reports of dangers from abroad, hath often ſerved to prevent them from fencing againſt real dangers at home. By theſe, and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt adminiſtration, the madneſs of the people hath riſen to ſuch a height as to break in pieces the whole frame of the beſt inſtituted governments. But, however, ſuch great phrenzies, being artificially raiſed, are a perfect force and conſtraint upon human nature; and under a wiſe ſteady prince will certainly decline of themſelves, ſettling like the ſea after a ſtorm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern ſtory are full of inſtances to illuſtrate what I ſay.

In our own iſland we had a great example of a long madneſs in the people, kept up by a thouſand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the conſtitution was deſtroyed; yet the malignity being ſpent, and the humour exhauſted that ſerved to foment it, before the uſurpers could fix upon a new ſcheme, the people ſuddenly recovered, and peaceably reſtored the old conſtitution.

From what I have offered, it will be eaſy to decide, whether this late change in the diſpoſition of the people was a new madneſs, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I ſee how it can be proved,

ed, that such a change had in any circumstance the least symptoms of madness, whether my description of it be right or no. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people in the choice of their representatives is by computing the country-elections; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present measures; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. The free, unextorted addresses sent some time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly shewed, what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the Bank and East-India company, was another convincing argument. Besides, the *Whigs* themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of *Tories*. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the people; whether it were just and reasonable in itself or no.

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the *partisans* of the late men in power gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *last* being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state. Or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser; and by the choice they have made, shew they do understand our constitution,

tion, and would bring it back to the old form; which if the new miniſters take care to maintain, they will and ought to ſtand; otherwiſe they may fall like their predeceſſors But, I think, we may eaſily foreſee what a parliament, freely choſen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man ſhall be in any danger to loſe his *place* by the freedom of his *voice*.

But who are thoſe advancers of this opinion, that the preſent miniſtry cannot hold? It muſt be either ſuch as are afraid to be called to an account, in caſe it ſhould hold: or thoſe who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reaſonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; ſince perhaps it will be neceſſary to make ſome changes, that the public buſineſs of the nation may go on: or, laſtly, *ſtockjobbers*, who induſtriouſly ſpread ſuch reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet theſe hopes, thus freely expreſſed, as they are more ſincere, ſo they are more ſupportable, than when they appear under the *diſguiſe* and pretence of *fears*. Some of theſe gentlemen are employed to ſhake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to ſhew how impoſſible it is, that the public credit can be ſupported; to pray that all may do well in whatever hands; but very much to doubt that the pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing ſo nearly reſembling this behaviour, as what I have often ſeen among the friends of a ſick man, whoſe intereſt it is that he ſhould die. The phyſicians proteſt they ſee no danger, the ſymptoms are good, the medicines anſwer expectation; yet ſtill they are not to be comforted; they whiſper, he is a gone man, it is not poſſible he ſhould hold out; he hath perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At laſt, the

the patient recovers, and their joy is as falſe as their grief.

I believe there is no man ſo ſanguine, who did not apprehend ſome ill conſequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is manifeſt, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Thoſe remedies that ſtir the humours in a diſeaſed body, are at firſt more painful than the malady itſelf; yet certain death is the conſequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are ſaid to come in ſlowly. But beſides that, ſomething of this muſt have been whether there had been any change or no: beſides that the ſurpriſe of every change, for the better as well as the worſe, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reaſon, which is plain and ſcandalous. When the late party was at the helm, thoſe who were called the *Tories*, never put their reſentments in balance with the ſafety of the nation: but chearfully contributed to the common cauſe; now the ſcene is changed, the fallen party ſeems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word about*; they will keep their money, and be paſſive; and in this point ſtand upon the ſame foot with *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors*. What would have become of the public, if the preſent great majority had acted thus during the late adminiſtration, before the others were maſters of that wealth they have ſqueezed out of the landed men, and with the ſtrength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought to ſay, without pointing reflections upon any particular perſon, which I have hitherto but ſparingly done, and that only towards thoſe whoſe characters are too profligate, that the managing of them ſhould be of any conſequence. Beſides, as it is a talent I am not naturally

rally fond of; ſo, in the ſubjects I treat it is generally needleſs. If I diſplay the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of groſs immorality and irreligion; thoſe who are the leaſt converſant in things, will eaſily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of ſuch who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other ſide were the firſt agreſſors. Not to mention their ſcurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular perſons; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives againſt the preſent miniſtry, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names to prevent miſtakes? It is good ſometimes to let theſe people ſee, that we neither want ſpirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point *alone*, I ſhall follow their example, whenever I find myſelf ſufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, ſhall be religiouſly true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or ſuch as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being reſolved publicly to confeſs any miſtakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly deſire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers, ſaid to be done in the cathedral of Glouceſter. A whole hydra of errors in two words! For, as I am ſince informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Glouceſter, but ſome other church of that dioceſe. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meaneſt hands, I ſhould certainly have anſwered it.

No 25. Thurſday, January 25, 1710.

Διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἥσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σῦμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ καλὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

Summiſſa quædam voce collocuti ſunt, quorum ſumma erat de dominatione ſibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.

NOT many days ago I obſerved a knot of diſcontented gentlemen, curſing the *Tories* to hell for their uncharitableneſs in affirming, that, if the late miniſtry had continued to this time, we ſhould have had neither *church* nor *monarchy* left. They are uſually ſo candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-houſe, or over a bottle, from ſome warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to ſay more than they believed, by ſome poſitions as abſurd and ridiculous of their own. And ſo it proved in this very inſtance: for, aſking one of theſe gentlemen what it was that provoked thoſe he had been diſputing with, to advance ſuch a paradox; he aſſured me in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world but that himſelf and ſome others of the company had made it appear, that the deſign of the preſent parliament and miniſtry was to bring in *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*: which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *Whigs*: becauſe I defy our adverſaries to produce one ſingle reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch deſigns in the perſons now at the helm; whereas I can,

upon

upon demand, produce twenty to ſhew, that ſome late men had ſtrong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

It is natural indeed, when a ſtorm is over, that hath only untiled our houſes and blown down ſome of our chimneys, to conſider what farther miſchiefs might have enſued, if it had laſted longer. However, in the preſent caſe I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe the church and ſtate might have laſted *ſomewhat longer*, although the late enemies to both had done their worſt. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been ſoon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make ſuch large and ſudden ſtrides, it muſt have come to blows; and, according to the computation we have now reaſon to think a right one, I can partly gueſs what would have been the iſſue. Beſides, we are ſure the Queen would have interpoſed, before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But, inſtead of this queſtion, what would have been the conſequence, if the late miniſtry had continued? I will propoſe another, which will be more uſeful for us to conſider; and that is, *What we may reaſonably expect they will do, if ever they came into power again?* This, we know, is the deſign and endeavour of all thoſe ſcribblers which daily fly about in their favour; of all the falſe, inſolent, and ſcandalous libels againſt the preſent adminiſtration; and of all thoſe engines ſet at work to ſink the *actions*, and blow up the public credit. As for thoſe who ſhew their inclinations by writing, there is one conſideration, which I wonder doth not ſometimes affect them: for how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleneſs and innocence of thoſe who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an inſolent, pragmatical

orator

orator ſomewhere in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the ſtate, was anſwered by one who had been very inſtrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that *he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wiſhed them in, when every man in that city might ſecurely ſay what he pleaſed.* I wiſh theſe gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their maſters uſed to give; how many meſſengers and warrants would have gone out againſt any, who durſt have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, againſt the perſons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals?* How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *proſecution* and *puniſhment?* We remember, when a poor nickname *, borrowed from an old play of Ben Johnſon, and mentioned in a ſermon without any particular application, was made uſe of as a motive to ſpur on an impeachment. But after all it muſt be confeſſed, they had reaſons to be thus ſevere, which their ſucceſſors have not: Their faults would never endure the light; and to have expoſed them ſooner, would have raiſed the kingdom againſt the actors, before the proper time.

But to come to the ſubject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the conſequences would be, upon ſuppoſition that the *Whigs* were now reſtored to their power: I already imagine the preſent free parliament diſſolved, and another of a different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two ſtinging votes againſt the proceedings of the late miniſtry. The bill † now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birth-right of an Engliſhman reduced again to the value of twelve pence. But to give the reader a ſtronger imagination of

* Volpone was a nickname given to Lord Treaſurer Godolphin.
† A bill for a general naturalization.

such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for repealing the *sacramental test*.

" A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, " Coward, and Toland, in behalf of themselves " and many hundreds of their disciples, some of " whom are members of this honourable house; " desiring that leave may be given to bring in a bill " for qualifying *Atheists*, *Deists*, and *Socinians* to " serve their country in any employment, ecclesia- " stical, civil, or military.

" *Ordered*,

" That leave be given to bring in a bill accor- " ding to the prayer of the said petition; and " that Mr. Lechmere * do prepare and bring in " the same.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for removing the " education of youth out of the hands of the cler- " gy.

" Another to forbid the clergy preaching cer- " tain duties in religion; especially *obedience to* " *princes*.

" Another to take away the jurisdiction of bi- " shops.

" Another for constituting a general *for life*; " with instructions to the committee, that care " may be taken to make the war last as long as the " life of the said general.

" A bill of attainder against James Duke of Or- " mond, John Duke of Buckinham, Laurence " Earl of Rochester, Sir Simon Harcourt, Knt.

* Mr. Lechmere was one of the managers against Dr. Sacheverel, and summed up the evidence.

" Robert

" Robert Harley and William Shippen, Eſquires,
" Abigail Maſham, ſpinſter, and others, for high
" treaſon againſt the *junto*.

" *Reſolved*,

" That Sarah Ducheſs of Marlborough hath been
" a moſt dutiful, juſt, and grateful ſervant to her
" Majeſty.

" *Reſolved*,

" That to adviſe the diſſolution of a Whig par-
" liament, or the removal of a *Whig* miniſtry,
" was in order to bring in *Popery* and the *pretend-*
" er; and that the ſaid advice was high treaſon.

" *Reſolved*,

" That, by the *original compact*, the govern-
" ment of this realm is by a *junto*, and a King, or
" Queen; but the *adminiſtration* ſolely in the *jun-*
" *to*.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for farther limiting
" the prerogative.

" *Ordered*,

" That it be a ſtanding order of this houſe, that
" the merit of elections be not determined by the
" number of voices, or right of electors, but by
" weight; and that one *Whig* ſhall weigh down
" ten *Tories*.

" A motion being made, and the queſtion being
" put, that when a *Whig* is detected of manifeſt
" bribery, and his competitor, being a *Tory*, hath
" ten to one a majority, there ſhall be a new elec-
" tion; it paſſed in the negative.

" *Reſolved*,

" That for a King or Queen of this realm to
" read or examine a paper brought them to be
" ſigned by a *junto* miniſter, is arbitrary and ille-
" gal, and a violation of the liberties of the peo-
" ple.

Theſe, and the like reformations, would in all

probability be the first fruits of the *Whigs resurrection*; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a *peace* cut off; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in ruining the constitution. I do not see, how the wisest prince under such necessities could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the *church*; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of *independency* on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now *examine*. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void space was left for a sixth, which was to have been the Queen, to whom they intended that honour: but her Majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to croud in *two better friends*, in her place, which makes it a complete *heptarchy* *. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine relating to the con-

* This heptarchy was the serpent with seven heads, mentioned in No 21. 22.

vocation

vocation. He promiſeth to " ſet me right without " any undue reflections, or indecent language." I ſuppoſe he means, in compariſon with others, who pretend to anſwer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himſelf as becomes a candid antagoniſt, I believe he is miſtaken. He ſays in his title-page, my *repreſentations are unfair, and my reflections unjuſt:* and his concluſion is yet more ſevere; where he " doubts I and my friends " are enraged againſt the Dutch, becauſe they pre- " ſerved us from Popery and arbitrary power at " the revolution; and ſince that time from being " over-run by the exorbitant power of France, and " becoming a prey to the Pretender." Becauſe this author ſeems in general to write with an honeſt meaning, I would ſeriouſly put to him the queſtion, whether he thinks, " I and my friends are for " Popery, arbitrary power, France, and the pre- " tender?" I omit other inſtances of ſmaller moment, which however do not ſuit in my opinion with *due reflection, or decent language.* The fact relating to the convocation came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumſtance about it. My reflections were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a lower houſe of convocation; it is a very melancholy one, and to me ſeems utterly inconſiſtent with that of a body of men whom he owns to have a *negative:* and therefore, ſince a great majority of the clergy differ from him in ſeveral points he advances. I ſhall rather chuſe to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole ſynod met in one houſe*, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their biſhops; and therefore, whether this treatment, ſo extremely *de haut en bas*, ſince their excluſion be ſuitable to primitive cuſtom or primitive humility towards bre-

thren, is not my buſineſs to inquire. One may allow the divine, or apoſtolic right of Epiſcopacy, and its great ſuperiority over preſbyters; and yet diſpute the methods of exerciſing the latter, which, being of human inſtitution, are ſubject to incroachments and uſurpations. I know every clergyman in a dioceſe hath a great deal of dependence upon his biſhop, and owes him canonical obedience; but I was apt to think, that when the whole repreſentative of the clergy met in a ſynod, they were conſidered in another light; at leaſt ſince they are allowed to have a *negative*. If I am miſtaken, I deſire to be excuſed, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing wherein I entirely differ from this author: ſince in the diſputes about privileges *one ſide muſt recede*; where ſo very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the incroachments are not on the inferior clergy's ſide; and no man can blame them for inſiſting on the ſmall number that is left. There is one fact wherein I muſt take occaſion to ſet this author right; that the perſon * who firſt moved the Queen to remit the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an "eminent inſtrument in the late turn of affairs;" and, as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the ſame favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* †.

But I muſt beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controverſy; which would be of very little import to moſt readers, and only miſpend time that I would gladly employ to better purpoſes. For where it is a man's buſineſs to entertain a whole roomful, it is unmannerly to apply himſelf to a particular perſon, and turn his back upon the reſt of the company.

* Earl of Oxford, Lord Treaſurer.

† This was done by the author's ſolicitation. See his letters to Archbiſhop King.

No 26. Thurſday, February 1. 1710.

Ea autem eſt gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujuſque, tum etiam multitudinis, teſtimonio comprobatur.

I AM thinking, what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cauſe*. I remember a *fanatic preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *church*, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts was diverted from that deſign, when he conſidered that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling with tithes. He certainly had reaſon; and the two caſes are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a neceſſary perſon: you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at thoſe who hold the pen on the other ſide: you are ſure to be celebrated and careſſed by all your party, to a man: you may affirm and deny what you pleaſe without truth or probability, ſince it is but loſs of time to contradict you. Beſides, *commiſeration* is often on your ſide; and you have a pretence to be thought honeſt and diſintereſted for adhering to friends in diſtreſs: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a ſtrong fund of *merit* towards making your fortune. Then you never fail to be well furniſhed with materials; every one bringing in his *quota*; and falſehood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power,

power, and hugging yourſelf in a corner with mighty ſatisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwiſe with us, who engage as volunteers in the ſervice of a flouriſhing miniſtry, in full credit with the Queen, and beloved by the people; becauſe they have no ſiniſter ends or dangerous deſigns; but purſue with ſteadineſs and reſolution the true intereſt of both. Upon which account they little want, or deſire, our aſſiſtance; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed either to a *place*, or a *penſion*: beſides, we are refuſed the common *benefit of the party*, to have our works cried up of courſe; the readers of our ſide being as ungentle, and hard to pleaſe, as if we writ againſt them: and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The deſign of their labours, who write on the conquered ſide, is likewiſe of greater importance than *ours*: They are like cordials for dying men, which muſt be repeated; whereas ours are, in the ſcripture-phraſe, but *meat for babes*: at leaſt, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the ignorant, and thoſe at a diſtance; but their taſk is to keep up the ſinking ſpirits of a whole party.

After ſuch reflections, I cannot be angry with thoſe gentlemen for perpetually writing againſt me; it furniſhes them largely with topics; and is beſides their proper buſineſs: neither is it affectation, or altogether *ſcorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act ſuitable to our ſeveral provinces: mine is by laying open ſome corruptions in the late management, to ſet thoſe who are ignorant, right in their opinions of perſons and things: it is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and diſprove; and then let the world decide.

If

If *I* were as *they*, my chief endeavour ſhould certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*: therefore I cannot but approve their deſign. Beſides, they have indeed another reaſon for barking inceſſantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a moſt ingenious perſon, as author of it; one who is in great, and very deſerved, reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for public buſineſs. They were wiſe enough to conſider, what a ſanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadverſion of ſuch a pen; and therefore uſed all the forms of provocation commonly practiſed by little obſcure pedants, who are fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the fame of an adverſary. So nice a taſte have theſe judicious critics in pretending to diſcover an author by his ſtyle and manner of thinking! not to mention the juſtice and candour of exhauſting all the ſtale topics of ſcurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whoſe greateſt fault perhaps is too much *gentleneſs* towards a party, from whoſe *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the eaſe and reputation of ſo deſerving a gentleman, hath at length forced me, much againſt my intereſt and inclination, to let theſe angry people know, who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I obſerved the opinion began to ſpread; and I choſe rather to ſacrifice the honour I received by it, than let the injudicious people intitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reaſon to be aſhamed of: ſtill faithfully promiſing never to diſturb thoſe worthy advocates; but ſuffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any eaſe in it; as phyſicians ſay there is to people in torment, ſuch as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However, I muſt acknowledge myſelf indebted

to

to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late ministry I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of those who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like *valentines*, into a *hat* to be drawn, as fortune pleased, by the *junto* and their friends. Their Crassus drew *Liberality* and *Gratitude*; Fulvia, *Humility* and *Gentleness*; Clodius, *Piety* and *Justice*; Gracchus, *Loyalty* to his prince; Cinna, *Love of his country and constitution*; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often seen of late the whole set of discarded statesmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for those very qualities which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these *heroes* put off and lock up their *virtues* when they came into employment; and have they now resumed them since their dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was *under* their *greatness*, and without ever once convincing the world of their *visibility* or *influence*.

But why should not the present ministry find a pen to praise them, as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, without being called, served them half a year in quality of *champion*; and, by help of the Queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed cabal of hated politians, with a dozen of scribblers at their head: Yet so far have they been from rewarding me suitable to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the *printer* to enquire who I was; although I have known a time and ministry, where a person of half my merit and consideration would have had fifty *promises*; and,

and, in the mean time, a *penſion* ſettled on him, whereof the *firſt quarter ſhould be honeſtly paid*. Therefore, my reſentments ſhall ſo far prevail, that in praiſing thoſe who are now at the head of affairs, I ſhall at the ſame time take notice of their defects. Was any man more eminent in his profeſſion than the preſent Lord Keeper * or more diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence and great abilities in the Houſe of Commons? And will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great ſtation he now adorns? But then it muſt be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the ſpeculative, as well as practical part of *polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphoſe a ſober man into a *lunatic*: He is no *freethinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheiſtical book, while he is guardian of the Queen's conſcience. Although after all, to ſpeak my private opinion, I cannot think theſe ſuch mighty objections to his character, as ſome would pretend.

The perſon who now preſides at the council †, is deſcended from a great and honourable father, not *from the dregs of the people*; he was at the head of the treaſury ſome years, and rather choſe to enrich his prince than himſelf. In the height of favour and credit, he ſacrificed the greateſt employment in the kingdom to his *conſcience* and *honour*; he hath always been firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for ſupporting the prerogative of the crown, and preſerving the liberties of the people. But then his beſt friends muſt own, that he is neither *Deiſt* nor *Socinian*; he hath never converſed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and diſpel the prejudices of education;

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt, was made Lord Keeper upon the reſignation of Lord Chancellor Cowper.

† Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rocheſter, in the room of Lord Somers.

nor

nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and impriſon the husband, in order to keep the wife without diſturbance.*

The preſent Lord Steward * hath been always diſtinguiſhed for his wit and knowledge; is of conſummate wiſdom and experience in affairs; hath continued conſtant to the true intereſt of the nation, which he eſpouſed from the beginning; and is every way qualified to ſupport the dignity of his office; but in point of *oratory*, muſt give place to his predeceſſor.

The Duke of Shrewſbury † was highly inſtrumental in bringing about the *revolution*, in which ſervice he freely expoſed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being poſſeſſed of all the amiable qualities that can accompliſh a great man; but in the agreeableneſs and fragrancy of his perſon, and the profoundneſs of his politics, muſt be allowed to fall very ſhort of ——.

Mr. Harley ‡ had the honour of being choſen Speaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments. He was the firſt of late years, who ventured to reſtore the forgotten cuſtom of treating his prince with *duty* and *reſpect*; eaſy and diſengaged in private converſation with ſuch a weight of affairs upon his ſhoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity; and a deſpirer of money; purſuing the true intereſt of his prince and country againſt all obſtacles: ſagacious to view into the remoteſt conſequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy; ſacrificing his

* The Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, in the room of the Duke of Devonſhire.

† Lord Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquis of Kent.

‡ Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the removal of Lord Godolphin.

juſteſt

juſteſt reſentments, not only to public good, but to common interceſſion and acknowledgment. Yet with all theſe virtues, it muſt be granted, there is ſome mixture of human infirmity. His greateſt admirers muſt confeſs his ſkill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and ſuperficial; in *horſe-racing* he is utterly ignorant; then to ſave a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy *citizens* he hinders from making up their plumb *. And ſurely there is one thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he uſeth as if they were *gentlemen*.

My Lord Dartmouth † is a man of letters, full of good ſenſe, good nature, and honour; of ſtrict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his ſtation have done the Queen.

Omitting ſome others, I ſhall cloſe this character of the preſent *miniſtry* with that of Mr. St. John ‡, who, from his youth, applying thoſe admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to public buſineſs, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himſelf a *buſy, important countenance*; nor learned that profound part of wiſdom, to be *difficult of acceſs*. Beſides, he hath clearly miſtaken the true uſe of *books*, which he hath thumbed and ſpoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his ſhelves; not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face;

* A cant word in England for 100,000 l.

† He ſucceeded the Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State.

‡ Secretary of State in the room of Mr. Henry Boyle. He was afterwards created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

although he had never converſed with the former, and often with the latter.

No 27. Thurſday, February 8. 1710.

Caput eſt in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima ſuſpicio.

THere is no vice which mankind carries to ſuch wild extremes as that of *avarice*. Thoſe two which ſeem to rival it in this point, are luſt and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diſeaſes, deſtroys itſelf by its own purſuits, and uſually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a higher degree, and meeting with a thouſand dangers and oppoſitions, ſucceeds too ſeldom in an age to fall under common obſervation. Or, avarice is perhaps the ſame paſſion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and daſtardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man purſues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which laſt is the ſafer way, although longer about; and, ſuiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this paſſion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree ſo abſurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The *ſtage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very ſhort in the repreſentations of *avarice*; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind deſcribed by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone

outdone by an hundred inſtances, commonly told among ourſelves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice which keeps ſo firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with ſo unlimited a tyranny, ſince it cannot wholly be eradicated ought at leaſt to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never ſuffered to prey upon the public; and ſhould certainly be rejected as the moſt unqualifying circumſtance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can poſſibly enter.

If the miſchiefs of this vice in a public ſtation were confined to enriching only thoſe particular perſons employed, the evil would be more ſupportable; but it is uſually quite otherwiſe. When a *ſteward* defrauds his *lord*, he muſt connive at the *reſt of the ſervants*, while they are following the ſame practice in their ſeveral ſpheres) ſo that, in ſome families you may obſerve a ſubordination of ſlaves in a link downards to the very *helper* in the ſtables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the maſter could bear it without being undone; but it ſo happens, that for every ſhilling the ſervant gets by his iniquity, the maſter loſeth twenty; the perquiſites of ſervants being but ſmall compoſitions for ſuffering ſhopkeepers to bring in what bills they pleaſe. It is exactly the ſame thing in a ſtate: an avaricious man in office is in confederacy with the whole *clan* of his diſtrict, or dependence; which, in modern terms of art is called *to live and let live*; and yet *their* gains are the ſmalleſt part of the public's loſs. Give a guinea to a knaviſh *land-waiter*, and he ſhall connive at the merchant for cheating the Queen of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of ſelling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loſs.

Moraliſts make two kinds of avarice; that of Catiline, *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*; and the other more generally unerſtood by that name, which is the endleſs deſire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a ſtate, becauſe it mingles with ambitition, which I think the latter cannot; for although the ſame breaſt may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The diſgrace of that ſordid vice is ſooner apt to ſpread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and ſcorn of the people: ſo that whenever thoſe two paſſions happen to meet in the ſame ſubject, it is not unlikely that Providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon *ambition*; and I have reaſon to think, *ſome great miniſters of ſtate* have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philoſophers, the laſhes and ridicule of ſatirical poets, have been all employed in exploding this inſatiable thirſt of money; and all equally controlled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing now remains to be ſaid upon the occaſion; and if there did, I muſt remember my character, that I am an *examiner* only and not a *reformer*.

However, in thoſe caſes where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, ſuch as a prime miniſter of ſtate, or a great general of an army; methinks there ſhould be ſome expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompaſſed with a croud of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuſe. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly loſt, or returned with hatred; and whatever appears in public againſt their prevailing vice, goes

goes for nothing; being either not applied, or paſſing only for libel and ſlander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have ſometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the firſt *triumvirate*, I ſhould have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to thoſe three great men who had then uſurped the ſovereign power; wherein I would freely and ſincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was moſt odious, and of worſt conſequence to the commonwealth. That to Craſſus ſhould have been ſent to him after his conqueſts in Meſopotamia, and in the following terms.

"To Marcus Crassus, health.

"IF you apply, as you ought, what I now write, you will be more obliged to me than to all the "world, hardly excepting your parents or your "country. I intend to tell you, without diſguiſe "or prejudice, the opinion which the world hath "entertained of you; and to let you ſee, I write "this without any ſort of ill-will, you ſhall firſt "hear the ſentiments they have to your advan-"tage. No man diſputes the gracefulneſs of your "perſon, you are allowed to have a good and "clear underſtanding, cultivated by the know-"ledge of men and manners, although not by li-"terature; you are no ill orator in the ſenate; "you are ſaid to excel in the art of bridling and "ſubduing your anger, and ſtifling or concealing "your reſentments; you have been a moſt ſuc-"ceſsful general, of long experience, great con-"duct, and much perſonal courage; you have "gained many important victories for the com-"monwealth, and forced the ſtrongeſt towns in "Meſopotamia to ſurrender, for which frequent "ſupplications have been decreed by the ſenate. "Yet with all theſe qualities, and this merit, give

" me leave to say, you are neither beloved by the " *patricians* nor *plebeians* at home, nor by the offi- " cers or private soldiers of your own army a- " broad. And do you know, Crassus, that this is " owing to a fault, of which you may cure your- " self by one minute's reflection? What shall I " say? You are the richest person in the common- " wealth; you have no male child: your daugh- " ters are all married to wealthy *patricians*; you " are far in the decline of life, and yet you are " deeply stained with that odious and ignoble vice " of *covetousness*. It is affirmed, that you descend " even to the meanest and most scandalous degrees " of it; and while you possess so many millions, " while you are daily acquiring so many more, you " are solicitous how to save a single *sesterce*; of which " an hundred ignominious instances are produced, " and in all mens mouths. I will only mention " that passage of the *buskins* *, which, after abun- " dance of persuasion, you would hardly suffer to " be cut from your legs, when they were so wet " and cold, that to have kept them on would have " endangered your life.

" Instead of using the common arguments to " dissuade you from this weakness, I will endea- " vour to convince, that you are really guilty of " it; and leave the cure to your own good sense. " for perhaps you are not yet persuaded that this " is your crime; you have probably never yet " been reproached for it to your face; and what " you are now told comes from one unknown, and " it may be from an enemy. You will allow your- " self indeed to be prudent in the management of " your fortune; you are not a prodigal, like Clo- " dius, or Catiline; but surely that deserves not " the name of *avarice*. I will inform you how to " be convinced. Disguise your person, go among

* Wet stockings.

" the

" the common people in Rome introduce discour-
" ses about yourself, inquire your own character:
" do the same in your camp; walk about it in the
" evening, hearken at every tent; and if you do
" not hear every mouth censuring, lamenting,
" cursing this vice in you, and even you for this
" vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not
" yet persuaded, send for Atticus, Servius Sulpi-
" cius, Cato, or Brutus; they are all your friends;
" conjure them to tell you ingenuously, which is
" your great fault, and which they would chiefly
" wish you to correct; if they do not agree in their
" verdict, *in the name of all the gods*, you are ac-
" quitted.

" When your adversaries reflect how far you are
" gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if
" we owed our successes, not to your courage or
" conduct, but to those *veteran* troops you com-
" mand; who are able to conquer under any gene-
" ral, with so many brave and experienced officers
" to lead them. Besides, we know the consequen-
" ces your avarice hath often occasioned. The
" soldier hath been starving for bread, surrounded
" with plenty, and in an enemy's country; but all
" under *safeguards* and *contributions*; which, if you
" had sometimes pleased to have exchanged for
" *provisions*, might, at the expense of a few talents
" in a campaign, have so endeared you to the ar-
" my, that they would have desired you to lead
" them to the utmost limits of Asia. But you ra-
" ther chose to confine your conquests within the
" fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty
" of money might be raised. How far that fatal
" greediness of gold may have influenced you in
" breaking off the treaty with the old Parthian
" King Orodes, you best can tell; your enemies
" charge you with it; your friends offer nothing
" material in your defence; and all agree, there is

" nothing

" nothing so pernicious, which the extremes of a-
" varice may not be able to inspire.

" The moment you quit this vice, you will be a
" truly great man; and still there will imperfec-
" tions enough remain to convince us, you are not
" a *god*. Farewell."

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so reasonable a man as Crassus, might have put him upon *examining* into himself, and correcting that little sordid appetite so utterly inconsistent with all pretences to *heroism*. A youth in the heat of blood may plead, with some shew of reason, that he is not able to subdue his lusts; an ambitious man may use the same arguments for his love of power, or perhaps other arguments to justify it: but excess of avarice hath neither of these pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the *blood*, or the *animal spirits*. So that I conclude, " no man of true va-
" lour, and true understanding, upon whom this
" vice hath stolen unawares, when he is convin-
" ced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his
" breast an hour."

No 28. Thurſday, February 15. 1710.

Inultus ut tu riſeris Cotyttia?

An anſwer to the letter to the Examiner.

SIR, *London, Feb.* 15. 1710-11.

ALthough I have wanted leiſure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you was pleaſed to write to me about ſix months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying ſome of your commands, and am going on as faſt as I can with the reſt. I wiſh you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-houſe:* for, although I was pleaſed with a pattern of ſtyle and ſpirit, which I propoſed to imitate, yet I was ſorry the world ſhould be a witneſs how far I fell ſhort in both.

I am afraid you did not conſider, what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promiſe you are ſo kind to make, that when "I have per-"formed my taſk, D——n ſhall bluſh in his "grave among the dead, Walpole among the "living, and even Volpone ſhall feel ſome re-"morſe." How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the ſexton: but for the *other two*, I take leave to aſſure you, there have not yet appeared the leaſt ſigns of *bluſhing* or *remorſe* in either, although *ſome very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them:

them: so that, with your permission, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they* be *in their graves* too; which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect "some of those indignities offered last year to her Majesty." I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a *large volume in folio*, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers. Although indeed I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed; I will, with the first occasion, pick out a few *choice instances*, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise in my cabinet, certain quires of paper, filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expense I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit starved* writers, who have no other visible support; besides several others, who live upon my offals. In short, I am like a nurse, who suckles twins at one time, and hath, besides, *one or two whelps* constantly to draw her breasts.

I must needs confess, (and it is with grief I speak it), that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation of dulness: at the same time I have often wondered, how it hath come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain sense, and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me: for by what I have seen

of

of their performances, (and I am credibly informed they are all of a piece), if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, Sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the Examiner: it is not to beget a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to answer their paper; which would render mine wholly useless to the public: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman * indeed, who hath written three small pamphlets upon the *management of the war*, and *the treaty of peace*. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in *examining*; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. Nobody that I know of did ever dispute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakness of his advocates*. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in Spain, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace; the secret of which will not bear the light, and is, consequently, by this author very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shewn;

* Dr Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

but,

but, upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, from whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some *footman* he hath picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author: at least the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression in the fourth Examiner, joined to that respect I shall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe so. But when he turns off his *footman*, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, Sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the *Whigs*, for being too *severe*; and by the *Tories* on the other, for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men on both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former it exactly in these words.

To the EXAMINER.

"Mr. EXAMINER,

"By your continual reflecting upon the conduct "of the late ministry, and by your encomiums on "the present, it is *as clear as the sun at noon-day*, "that you are a *Jesuit* or *Nonjuror*, employed by "the friends of the *pretender* to endeavour to in-

"troduce

troduce *Popery*, and *ſlavery*, and *arbitrary power*, and to infringe the *ſacred* act for *toleration of diſſenters*. Now, Sir, ſince *the moſt ingenious authors*, who write weekly againſt you, are not able to teach you better manners, I would have you to know, that thoſe great and excellent men, as low as you think them at preſent, do not want friends that will take the firſt proper occaſion to *cut your throat*, as all ſuch enemies to moderation ought to be ſerved. It is well you have cleared another perſon from being author of your curſed libels; although, d—m me, perhaps after all, that may be a *bambcozle* too. However, I hope we ſhall ſoon ferret you out. Therefore I adviſe you as a friend to let fall your pen, and retire betimes; for our patience is now at an end. It is enough to loſe our power and employments, without ſetting the whole nation againſt us. Conſider, three years is the life of a *party*; d—m me, *every dog hath his day*, and it will be your turn next: therefore take warning, and learn to *ſleep in a whole ſkin*; or, whenever we are uppermoſt, by G—d you ſhall find no mercy."

The other letter was in the following terms:

To the EXAMINER.

"SIR,

"I am a *country-member*, and conſtantly ſend a dozen of your papers down to my *electors*. I have read them all, but I confeſs, not with the ſatisfaction I expected. It is plain you know a great deal more than you write: why will you not let us have it all out? We are told, that the Queen hath been a long time treated with inſolence by thoſe ſhe hath moſt obliged. Pray, Sir,

" let us have a few good ſtories upon that head. " We have been cheated of ſeveral millions; why " will you not ſet a mark on the knaves who are " guilty, and ſhew us what ways they took to rob " the public at ſuch a rate? Inform us, how we " came to be diſappointed of peace about two years " ago. In ſhort, turn the whole myſtery of iniquity inſide out, that every body may have a view " of it. But above all, explain to us what was at " the bottom of that fame *impeachment*; I am ſure " I never liked it; for at that very time a *diſſenting* " preacher in our neighbourhood came often to " ſee our parſon; it could be for no good, for he " would walk about the barns and the ſtables, and " deſired to look into the church, as *who ſhould* " *ſay, Theſe will ſhortly be mine*; and we all believed, he was then contriving ſome alterations a- " gainſt he got into poſſeſſion. And I ſhall never " forget, that a *Whig Juſtice* offered me then very " high for my biſhop's leaſe. I muſt be ſo bold " to tell you, Sir, that you are too favourable: I " am ſure there was no living in quiet for us, while " they were in the *ſaddle*. I was turned out of the " commiſſion, and called a *Jacobite*, although it " coſt me a thouſand pounds in joining with the " Prince of Orange at the *revolution*. The diſcoveries I would have you make, are of ſome facts, " for which they ought to be hangd; not that I " value their heads, but I would ſee them expoſed, which may be done upon the *owners ſhoulders* as well as upon a *pole*," &c.

Theſe, Sir, are the ſentiments of a whole party on one ſide, and of conſiderable numbers on the other: however, taking the medium between theſe extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am ſenſible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable ſide. For nothing delights the people more, than

than to see their oppressors humbled, and all their actions painted with proper colours, set out in open view: *Exactos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.*

But as for the *Whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they shew for the honour of the late ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman who fought another for calling him *son of a whore*, that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, *because it was true*. For, pray, Sir, doth it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine having fallen in among sharpers, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for offering to affront gentlemen*. I believe the only reason why these purloiners of the public cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: like those women they call *shoplifters*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, Sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed, in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on for having been Ecclesiastical Commissioner, and Lord Treasurer, in the reign of the late K. James. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that because he could not com-

ply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two Popish Lords, and the present Earl of Godolphin.

No. 29. Thursday, February 22. 1710.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry; nor advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good subject. There were among the former one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities; but proceeding by a system of politics which our constitution could not suffer, and discovering a contempt of all religion, especially of that which hath been so happily established among us ever since the reformation; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is possible, that a man may speculatively prefer the constitution of another country, or an Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend to the government already settled. So in religion, a man may perhaps

perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proſelytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or diſcourſe; if, according to the common atheiſtical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe; and that the preſent model is better adjuſted than any other to ſo uſeful an end; although the condition of ſuch a man, as to his own future ſtate, be very deplorable; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even ſuch a man an inſtrument for contributing towards the preſervation of the church.

On the other ſide, I take a ſtate to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a ſet of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the conſtitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting theſe qualities in order to keep or increaſe their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in, like Mahomet, ſome principles from every party, that is in any way diſcontented at the preſent faith and ſettlement; which was manifeſtly our caſe. Upon this occaſion, I remember to have aſked ſome conſiderable *Whigs*, whether it did not bring a diſreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of Preſbyterians, Independents, Atheiſts, Anabaptiſts, Deiſts, Quakers, and Socinians, openly and univerſally liſted under their banners? They anſwered, that all this was abſolutely neceſſary in order to make a balance againſt the *Tories*; and all little enough: for, indeed, it was as much as they could poſſibly do, although aſſiſted with the abſolute power of diſpoſing every employment: while the bulk of the Engliſh gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and ſtate.

But, notwithſtanding what I have hitherto ſaid, I am informed ſeveral among the *Whigs* continue ſtill ſo refractory, that they will hardly allow the

heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one after those *overt acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce?* But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorously; that the question may remain, *Why was the old ministry changed?* which they urge *on* without ceasing, as if no occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince: I shall therefore offer among an hundred one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and ingrossing the favours of their masters. Whoever hath been the least conversant in the English story, cannot but have heard of Gaveston, the Spencers, and some others, who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of *minions*, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise *minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worse; we have suffered for some years under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those for whom the Queen had neither esteem nor friendship;

ſhip; who rather ſeemed to ſnatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their ſovereign; and were ſo far from returning reſpect, that they forgot common good manners. They impoſed on their prince, by urging the *neceſſity of affairs* of their own creating: they firſt raiſed difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themſelves in power. They united themſelves, againſt nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full poſſeſſion of the court: then they urged the formidable ſtrength of that party, and the dangers which muſt follow by diſobliging it. So that it ſeems almoſt a miracle, how a princeſs thus beſieged on all ſides could *alone* have courage and prudence enough to extricate herſelf.

And indeed there is a point of hiſtory relating to this matter, which well deſerveth to be conſidered. When her Majeſty came to the crown, ſhe took into favour and employment ſeveral perſons, who were eſteemed the beſt friends of the old conſtitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are uſually called) than two or three who had at that time moſt credit; and ever ſince, until within theſe few months, poſſeſſed all power at court. So that the firſt umbrage given to the *Whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring againſt France and the pretender, were derived from them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that ſuch different opinions ſhould ever incorporate; that party having upon former occaſions treated thoſe very perſons with enmity enough. But ſome Lords then about court, and in the Queen's good graces, not able to endure thoſe growing impoſitions upon the prince and people, preſumed to interpoſe; and were conſequently ſoon removed and diſgraced. However, when a moſt exorbitant grant

was

was propoſed, antecedent to any viſible merit, it miſcarried in parliament for want of being ſeconded by thoſe who had moſt credit in the houſe; and who, having always oppoſed the like exceſſes in a former reign, thought it their duty to do ſo ſtill, to ſhew the world, that the diſlike was not againſt perſons but things. But this was to croſs the *oligarchy* in the tendereſt point; a point which outweighed all conſiderations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the conſtitution: and therefore, after having in ſeveral private meetings concerted meaſures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their ſtyle and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emiſſaries, that *England muſt be ſaved by Whigs*. This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of ſecurity*, and the conſequences of it, which every body knows; when (to uſe the words of my correſpondent *) *the ſovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchaſe of indemnity for an offending miniſter*. Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the miniſtry and the *junto*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that ſtorm they ſo narrowly eſcaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till Prince George's death †; and then they went lovingly on together, both ſatisfied with their ſeveral ſhares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the firſt, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and ſtate.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled queſtion, *Why was the late miniſtry changed?* may receive the following anſwer: That it was be-

* Letter to the Examiner.

† Prince George of Denmark, huſband to the queen.

come

come neceſſary by the inſolence and avarice of ſome about the Queen, who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monſtrous alliance with thoſe who profeſs principles deſtructive to our religion and government. If this will not ſuffice; let him make an abſtract of all the abuſes I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he ſtill remain unſatisfied, let him ſuſpend his opinion a few weeks longer. Altho', after all, I think the queſtion as trifling as that of the Papiſts, when they aſk us, *Where was our religion before Luther?* And indeed the miniſtry was changed by the ſame reaſons that religion was reformed; becauſe a thouſand corruptions had crept into the *diſcipline* and *doctrine* of the *ſtate* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of thoſe *who adminiſtered to us in ſecular affairs*.

I heard myſelf cenſured the other day in a coffee-houſe for ſeeming to glance in the letter to Craſſus againſt a great man, who is ſtill in employment, and likely to continue ſo. What if I had really intended that ſuch an application ſhould be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be juſtly blamed for ſo gentle a reproof. If I ſaw a handſome young fellow going to a ball at court with a great *ſmut* upon his face, could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and deſire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glaſs, where he might plainly ſee it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I ſhall ſuffer my pen to inveigh againſt vices, only becauſe they are charged upon perſons who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or leſs pernicious according to the ſtations of thoſe who poſſeſs them. For example, lewdneſs and intemperance are not of ſo bad conſequences in a town-rake as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more ſupportable than in an officer of the army. If I ſhould find fault with

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an admiral, becauſe he wanted *politeneſs*; or an alderman, for not underſtanding Greek; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occaſion of quarrelling. But exceſſive avarice in a general is, I think, the greateſt defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences, as it was in Craſſus, who to that vice alone owed the deſtruction of himſelf and his army. It is the ſame thing in praiſing mens excellencies; which are more or leſs valuable, as the perſon you commend hath occaſion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honeſtly; yet if he be not able to ſpell, he ſhall never have my vote to be a ſecretary. Another may have wit and learning in a poſt where honeſty, with plain common ſenſe, are of much more uſe. You may praiſe a ſoldier for his ſkill at *cheſs*, becauſe it is ſaid to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treaſurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gameſter*, or a *jockey*.

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr. Greenſhields; the perſon that ſent it may know, that I will ſay ſomething to it in the next paper.

No 30. Thurſday, March 1. 1710.

Quæ enim domus tam ſtabilis, quæ tam firma civitas eſt, quæ non odiis atque diſſidiis funditus poſſit everti.

IF we examine what ſocieties of men are in cloſeſt union among themſelves, we ſhall find them either to be thoſe who are engaged in ſome evil deſign, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in ſeveral countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our own nation, the ſeveral tribes of *ſharpers*, *thieves*, and *pickpockets*, with many others, are ſo firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or diſſolve their ſeveral *gangs*: ſo likewiſe thoſe who are fellow-ſufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are uſually contracted into a very ſtrict union; as we may obſerve in the *Papiſts* throughout this kingdom under thoſe real difficulties which are juſtly put on them; and in the ſeveral ſchiſms of *Preſbyterians*, and other ſects, under that grievous perſecution of the modern kind, called, *want of power*. And the reaſon why ſuch confederacies are kept ſo ſacred and inviolable, is very plain; becauſe in each of thoſe caſes I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one ſpirit in purſuit of one general end, and the intereſt of individuals is not croſſed by each other, or by the whole.

Now, both theſe motives are joined to unite the *high-flying Whigs* at preſent: they have been always engaged in an *evil deſign*, and of late they are faſt,

or

or rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loſs of power. So that whatever deſign a miſchievous crew of dark confederates may poſſibly entertain, who will ſtop at no means to compaſs them, may be juſtly apprehended from theſe.

On the other ſide, thoſe who wiſh well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its ſervice, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flouriſhes, are ſometimes envious at thoſe in power; ready to overvalue their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the meaſure they have preſcribed for themſelves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retroſpections*, and inquiry into paſt miſcarriages; wherein *ſome* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiſs; while in the mean time theſe diviſions are induſtriouſly fomented by the diſcarded faction; which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the ſchools of the *Jeſuits*, who, when they deſpaired of perverting this nation to *Popery* by arguments or plots againſt the ſtate, ſent their emiſſaries to ſubdivide us into ſchiſms. And this expedient is now with great propriety taken up by our men of *incenſed moderation*; becauſe they ſuppoſe themſelves able to attack the ſtrongeſt of our ſubdiviſions, and to ſubdue us one after another. Nothing better reſembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adverſaries, after he had divided them by a ſtratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this ſhould be touched; yet at the ſame time I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expoſe* the enemies of the public weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the firſt ſuſpicion, that any ſteps are made to diſturb it.

But

But the two chief ſubjects of diſcontent, which upon moſt great changes in the management of public affairs are apt to breed differences among thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, are what I have juſt now mentioned; a deſire of puniſhing the corruption of former managers; and the rewarding *merit* among thoſe who have been any way inſtrumental or conſenting to the change. The firſt of theſe is a point ſo nice, that I ſhall purpoſely wave it: but the lattter I take to fall properly within my diſtrict. By *merit* I here underſtand that value which every man puts upon his own deſervings from the public. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaſter-general to this ſort of *merit*; or a more noiſy, crouded place, than a court of *judicature* erected to ſettle and adjuſt every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dreſſed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given us a genealogy and deſcription of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and deſcription of MERIT.

" That *True Merit* was the ſon of Virtue and " Honour; but that there was likewiſe a ſpurious " child, who uſurped the name, and whoſe pa- " rents were Vanity and Impudence. That at a " diſtance there was a great reſemblance between " them, and they were often miſtaken for each o- " ther. That the *baſtard-iſſue* had a *loud ſhrill* " *voice*, which was perpetually employed in *crav-* " *ings* and *complaints*; while the other never ſpoke " louder than a *whiſper*, and was often ſo baſhful, " that he could not ſpeak at all. That in all great " aſſemblies the *Falſe Merit* would ſtep before the " *True*, and ſtand juſt in his way; was conſtantly

" at court, or great mens *levees*, or whiſpering in " ſome miniſter's ear. That the more you fed " him, the more hungry and importunate he grew. " That he often paſſed for the true ſon of Virtue " and Honour, and the genuine for an impoſtor. " That he was born diſtorted and a dwarf, but by " force of art appeared of a handſome ſhape, and " taller than the uſual ſize; and that none but " thoſe who were wiſe and good as well as vigi- " lant, could diſcover his littleneſs or deformity. " That the *True Merit* had been often forced to " the indignity of applying to the *Falſe* for his " credit with thoſe in power, and to keep himſelf " from ſtarving. That *Falſe Merit* filled the *an-* " *techambers* with a crew of his dependents and " creatures; ſuch as *projectors*, *ſchematiſts*, *occa-* " *ſional converts to a party*, *proſtitute-flatterers*, " *ſtarveling writers*, *buffoons*, *ſhallow politicians*, " *empty orators*, and the like; who all owned him " for their patron, and grew diſcontented, if they " were not immediately fed."

This metaphorical deſcription of *falſe merit* is, I doubt, calculated for moſt countries in Chriſtendom. As to our own, I believe it may be ſaid with a ſufficient reſerve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deſervings: and, I think, I may add without ſuſpicion of flattery, that never any prince had a miniſtry with a better judgement to diſtinguiſh between *falſe* and *real merit*, than that which is now at the helm; or whoſe inclination, as well as intereſt, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be obſerved, that thoſe great and excellent perſons we ſee at the head of affairs, are of the Queen's *own*, *perſonal*, *voluntary choice*; not forced upon her by any *inſolent*, *overgrown*, *favourite*, or by the pretended neceſſity of complying with an *unruly faction*.

Yet

Yet these are the persons whom those scandals to the press, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile at so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power derived from a prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller: because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are *in*, and those who are *out* of power; not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last, he would not conclude the *Whigs* to be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the *Tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the Queen herself is no longer spared; witness the libel published some days ago, under the title of *A letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where the reflections upon her Sacred Majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in the *ministry*, discarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. Cæsar indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship. But it was Cæsar who did so, and he did it to a crew of *public robbers*; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had they been in his power, and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness.

I had a letter last week relating to Mr. Greenshields, an *Episcopal* clergyman of Scotland, and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of

Britain I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr. Greenſhields's caſe, who has been proſecuted and ſilenced for no other reaſon beſides reading divine ſervice after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who deſired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me ſays, there is no law in Scotland againſt thoſe meetings; and he adds, that the ſentence pronounced againſt Mr. Greenſhields *will ſoon be affirmed, if ſome care be not taken to prevent it.* I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this caſe, and beſides, to treat it juſtly would not come within the compaſs of my paper; therefore I could wiſh the gentleman would undertake it in a diſcourſe by itſelf; and I ſhould be glad he would inform the public in one fact; whether *Epiſcopal* aſſemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence ſome years ago into England and Irerand, as from a perſecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refuſed to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them ſcrupled when they came among us. It is ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee our *Whigs* and *fanatics* keep ſuch a ſtir about the *ſacred act of toleration*, while their *brethren* will not allow a connivance in ſo near a neighbourhood; eſpecially if what the gentleman inſiſts on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are *Epiſcopal*; of which one argument he offereth is the preſent choice of their repreſentatives in both houſes, though oppoſed to the utmoſt by the *preachings*, *threatenings*, and *anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such uſage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous conſequence; and I entirely agree with him. If theſe be the principles of the *high-kirk*, God preſerve at leaſt the ſouthern parts from their tyranny.

No 31.

No 31. Thurſday, March 8. 1710.

——— *Garrit anniles.*
Ex re fabellas.

I Had laſt week ſent me by an unknown hand a paſſage out of Plato, with ſome hints how to apply it That author puts a fable into the mouth of Ariſtophanes, with an account of the original of *love*: That mankind was at firſt created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a puniſhment for his ſins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; ſince which time we are always looking out for our other half: and this is the cauſe of *love*. But Jupiter threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them the other ſlit, and leave them to hop about in the ſhape of figures in *baſſo relievo*. The effect of this laſt threatening, my correſpondent imagines, is now come to paſs; and that as the firſt *ſplitting* was the original of *love*, by inclining us to ſearch for our other half; ſo the ſecond was the cauſe of *hatred* by prompting us to fly from our *other ſide*, and dividing the ſame *body* into two, gave each ſlice the name of a party.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for *parties* do not only ſplit a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their ſtrength, and wit, and honeſty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their ſight and hearing, and equally lopping the reſt of the ſenſes. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a ſtate, no man can perceive one bad quality in his

own, or good one in his adverſaries. Beſides, *party* being a dry, diſagreeable ſubject, it renders converſation inſipid, or ſour, and confines invention. I ſpeak not here of the leaders but the inſignificant croud of followers in a party, who have been the inſtruments of mixing it in every condition and circumſtance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their foreheads, and wriſts, and hems of their garments; ſo the women among us have got the diſtinguiſhing marks of *party* in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *Whig* ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the *Tories*. They have made *ſchiſms* in the *playhouſe*, and each have their particular ſides at the *opera*: and when a man changeth his *party*, he muſt infallibly count upon the loſs of his miſtreſs. I aſked a gentleman the other day, how he liked ſuch a lady? but he would not give me his opinion, till I had anſwered him whether ſhe were a *Whig* or a *Tory*. Mr. ——, ſince he is known to viſit the preſent miniſtry, and lay ſome time under a ſuſpicion of writing the *examiner*, is no longer a man of *wit*; his very *poems* have contracted a ſtupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of *Merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *Party*, or rather of *Faction* (to avoid miſtake), not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read or dreamed it, the fable is as follows.

" Liberty, the daughter of Oppreſſion, after ha-
" ving brought forth ſeveral fair children, as
" Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many o-
" thers, was at laſt delivered of her youngeſt
" daughter, called Faction, whom Juno, doing
" the office of the midwife, diſtorted in its birth

" out

" out of envy to the mother, from whence it deri-
" ved its *peevishness* and sickly constitution. How-
" ever, as it is often the nature of parents to grow
" most fond of their youngest and disagreeablest
" children, so it happened with Liberty, who dot-
" ed on this daughter to such a degree, that by her
" good-will she would never suffer the girl to be
" out of her sight. As Miss Faction grew up, she
" became so termagant and froward, that there
" was no enduring her any longer in *heaven*. Ju-
" piter gave her warning to be gone; and her mo-
" ther, rather than forsake her, took the whole
" family down to *earth*. She landed first in Greece;
" was expelled by degrees through all the cities by
" her daughter's ill-conduct: fled afterwards to I-
" taly, and being banished thence, took shelter a-
" mong the Goths, with whom she passed into
" most parts of Europe; but, being driven out
" every where, she began to lose esteem, and her
" daughter's faults were imputed to herself: so
" that at this time she has hardly a place in the
" world to retire to. One would wonder what
" strange qualities this daughter must possess, suf-
" ficient to blast the influence of so divine a mo-
" ther, and the rest of her children. She always
" affected to keep mean and scandalous company;
" valuing no body, but just as they agreed with her
" in every capricious opinion she thought fit to
" take up; and rigorously exacting compliance,
" though she changed her sentiments ever so often.
" Her great employment was to breed *discord* a-
" mong friends and relations, and make up mon-
" strous alliances between those whose dispositions
" least resembled each other. Whoever offered to
" contradict her, though in the most insignificant
" trifle, she would be sure to distinguish by some
" ignominious *appellation*, and allow them to have
" neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, honesty,
" or common sense. She intruded into all com-
" panies

" panies at the moſt unſeaſonable times; mixed at " balls, aſſemblies, and other parties of pleaſure, " haunted every *coffeehouſe* and *bookſellers ſhop*, and " by her perpetual talking filled all places with diſ- " turbance and confuſion: ſhe buzzed about the " *merchant* in the Exchange, the *divine* in his *pul-* " *pit*, and the *ſhopkeeper* behind his *counter*. A- " bove all, ſhe frequented *public aſſemblies*, where " ſhe ſat in the ſhape of an *obſcene*, *ominous bird*, " ready to prompt her *friends* as they ſpoke."

If I underſtand this fable of Faction right, it ought to be applied to thoſe who ſet themſelves up againſt the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country; which I wiſh the undertakers for the late miniſtry would pleaſe to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of ſpeech they pretend to call ſo great and unforced a majority, with the Queen at *their* head, by the name of *the faction*; which is not unlike the phraſe of the *Nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived biſhops and half a ſcore clergymen of the ſame ſtamp with the title of the *Church of England*, exclude all the reſt as *ſchiſmatics*; or like the *Preſbyterians* laying the ſame accuſation, with equal juſtice, againſt the eſtabliſhed religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring, what are the true characteriſtics of a *faction*; or how it is to be diſtinguiſhed from that great body of the people, who are friends to the conſtitution? the heads of a *faction* are uſually a ſet of upſtarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom ſome great change in a government did at firſt out of their obſcurity produce upon the ſtage. They aſſociate themſelves with thoſe who diſlike the old eſtabliſhment, religious and civil. They are full of new ſchemes in politics and divinity; they have an incurable hatred againſt the old nobility, and ſtrengthen their party by dependents raiſed from the loweſt of the people.

They

They have several ways of working themselves into power; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported against those who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim of preserving *power* by the same arts by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those who believe their time is but short; and their first care is to heap up immense riches at the public expense; in which they have two ends besides that common one of insatiable avarice, which are to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining by this test, to which side the name of *faction* most properly belongs. But however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it must appear by some actions, which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogative of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or state? Have they broached any doctrine of heresy, rebellion, or tyranny? Have any of them treated their sovereign with insolence, ingrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants? These are the arts of a *faction*; and whoever hath practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It

It is usually reckoned a *Whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe our adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will further add, that if our people resembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

N° 32. Thurſday, March 15, 1710.

Non eſt ea medicina, cum ſanæ parti corporis ſcalpellam adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina eſt iſta, et crudelitas. Hi midentur reipublicæ, qui exſecant peſtem aliquam, tanquam ſtrumam civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general ſubject of my diſcourſes, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and ſurpriſing nature. A great miniſter, in high confidence with the Queen, under whoſe management the weight of affairs at preſent is in a great meaſure ſuppoſed to lie, ſitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the ſtate, is ſtabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French *Papiſt* *, then under examination for high treaſon; the aſſaſſin redoubles his blow to make ſure work; and concluding the Chancellor was diſpatched †, goes on with the ſame rage to murder a principal Secretary of State ‡: And that whole noble aſſembly are forced to riſe and draw

* The Abbot de Bourlie, who having quitted his native country, ſolicited to be emoloyed againſt it in ſeveral courts of Europe, and aſſumed the title of Marquis de Guiſcard. He at length obtained a commiſſion from Q. Anne, and embarked in an expedition againſt France, which miſcarried; and his expectations being diſappointed by the new miniſtry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a ſpy, and commenced a treaſonable correſpondence; his letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr. Harley, at his examination.

† Mr. Harley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Oxford.

‡ Mr. Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

their

their ſwords in their own defence, as if a wild beaſt had been let looſe among them.

This fact hath ſome circumſtances of aggravation not to be parallelled by any of the like kind we meet with in hiſtory. Cæſar's murder being performed in the ſenate comes neareſt to the caſe; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief ſenators, who were likewiſe the actors in it; and not the work of a vile ſingle ruffian. Harry the Third of France was ſtabbed by an enthuſiaſtic friar, whom he ſuffered to approach his perſon, while thoſe who attended him ſtood at ſome diſtance. His *ſucceſſor* met the ſame fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles in ſuch a confinement were able to defend themſelves. In our own country we have, I think, but one inſtance of this ſort, which has made any noiſe; I mean that of Felton about fourſcore years ago; but he took the opportunity to ſtab the Duke of Buckingham in paſſing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither ſeen nor heard, and the murderer might have eſcaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is uſual in ſuch caſes, had not betrayed him. Beſides, the act of Felton will admit of ſome extenuation from the motive he is ſaid to have had: But this attempt of Guiſcard ſeems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumſtance, except the difference of perſons between a king and a great miniſter; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of ſucceſs (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the leaſt alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the puniſhment.

I am ſenſible, it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few deſperate villains it is ſo unfortunate to produce; yet at the ſame time, it muſt be avowed, that the French have for theſe laſt centuries been ſomewhat too liberal of their daggers

daggers upon the perſons of their greateſt men; ſuch as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guiſe father and ſon, and the two kings I laſt mentioned. I have ſometimes wondered how a people, whoſe genius ſeems wholly turned to ſinging, and dancing, and pratting, to vanity and impertinence; who lay ſo much weight upon modes and geſtures; whoſe eſſentialities are generally ſo ſuperficial; who are uſually ſo ſerious upon trifles, and ſo triffling upon what is ſerious, have been capable of committing ſuch ſolid villanies, more ſuitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the ſilence and thoughtfulneſs of an Italian; unleſs it be, that in a nation naturally ſo full of themſelves, and of ſo reſtleſs imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a moroſe and gloomy conſtitution, that huddle of confuſed thoughts for want of evaporating uſually terminates in rage or deſpair, D' Avila obſerves, that Jacques Clement * was a ſort of buffoon, whom the reſt of the friars uſed to make ſport with; but at laſt giving his folly a ſerious turn, it ended in enthuſiaſm, and qualified him for that deſperate act of murdering his King.

But in the Marquis de Guiſcard there ſeems to have been a complication of ingredients for ſuch an attempt. He had committed ſeveral enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vitious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, ſuch as in vulgar phyſiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the reſt, his talents were very mean, having a ſort of inferior cunning, but very ſmall abilities; ſo that a great man of the late miniſty, by whom he was invited over, and with much diſcretion raiſed at firſt ſtep, from a profligate *Popiſh prieſt* to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, was at laſt forced to drop him for ſhame.

* The monk who ſtabbed Henry III. of France.

Had ſuch an accident happened under that miniſtry, and to ſuch a conſiderable member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of thoſe they are pleaſed to call the *faction*. This would have been ſtyled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accuſed, as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been ſent to promiſe the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confeſſion; and a *black liſt* would have been printed of all thoſe who had been ever ſeen in the murderer's company. But the preſent men in power hate and deſpiſe all ſuch deteſtable arts, which they might now turn upon their adverſaries with much more plauſibility, than ever theſe did their honourable negotiations with Greg *.

And here it may be worth obſerving, how unanimous a concurrence there is between ſome perſons once in great power and a French *Papiſt*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. Harley's life, though differing in their methods; the firſt proceeding by ſubornation the other by

* In the beginning of the year 1708, William Greg, an underclerk to Mr. Secretary Harley, was detected in a correſpondence with Monſieur Chamillard, one of the French King's miniſters; to whom he tranſmitted the proceedings of both houſes of parliament, with reſpect to the augmentation of the Britiſh forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treaſon, pleaded guilty: which gave occaſion to Mr. Harley's enemies to inſinuate that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had by aſſurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witneſſes. The houſe of Lords appointed a committee of ſeven, of whom Lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair. The committee preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr. Harley's papers had been long expoſed to the meaneſt clerks in his office; and it was requeſted, that more caution might be uſed for the future. Upon this addreſs, the execution of Greg was deferred a month; during which time he was ſolicited, threatened, and promiſed; but ſtill perſiſting to take the whole guilt upon himſelf, he was at length executed, having, in a paper, which he left behind him, juſtified Mr. Harley in particular; which he would ſcarce have thought neceſſary, if no particular attempt had been made againſt him.

violence;

violence; wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr. Harley who detected the treasonable correspondence of Greg, and secured him betimes; when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. Harley: But when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the Secretary: But, to use Greg's own expression, "His death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that "must be saved by prostituting his conscience." The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a *Popish spy*, whose treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her Majesty's ministers from such *Protestants*, and from such *Papists!*

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr. Secretary St. John, who happened to change seats with Mr. Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being asked what provoked him to stab the Chancellor, he said, that not being able to come at the Secretary as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr. St. John loved best *.

* How much he was mistaken, appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham.

And here, if Mr. Harley hath ſtill any enemies left, whom his blood ſpilt in the public ſervice cannot reconcile, I hope they will at leaſt admire his magnanimity, which is a quality eſteemed even in an enemy: and I think there are few greater inſtances of it to be found in ſtory. After the wound was given, he was obſerved neither to change his countenance, nor diſcover any concern or diſorder in his ſpeech. He roſe up and walked about the room, while he was able, with the greateſt tranquility during the height of the confuſion. When the ſurgeon came, he took him aſide, and deſired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, becauſe in that caſe, he ſaid, he had ſome affairs to ſettle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow againſt a rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound or his cloaths) as the ſurgeon was going to dreſs him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himſelf, gave it ſome body to keep, ſaying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him.* He ſhewed no ſort of reſentment, nor ſpoke one violent word againſt Guiſcard, but appeared all the while the leaſt concerned of any in the company. A ſtate of mind, which in ſuch an exigency nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Chriſtian philoſopher.

If there be really ſo great a difference in principle between the *high-flying Whigs* and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the queſtion, how came they to join in the deſtruction of the ſame man? Can his death be poſſibly for the intereſt of both? or have they both the ſame quarrel againſt him, that he is perpetually diſcovering and preventing the treacherous deſigns of our enemies? However it be, this great miniſter may now ſay with St. Paul, that he hath been "in perils by his own country-"men, and in perils by ſtrangers."

In

In the midſt of ſo melancholy a ſubject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that ſuch a ſavage monſter as the Marquis de Guiſcard is none of her production; a wretch perhaps more deteſtable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to repreſent him to the world. For there are good reaſons to believe, from ſeveral circumſtances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than thoſe he happened to execute; I mean ſuch as every good ſubject muſt tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently ſeen going up the back-ſtairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her Majeſty's bedchamber. He hath often, and earneſtly preſſed, for ſome time, to have acceſs to the Queen, even ſince his correſpondence with France. And he has now given ſuch a proof of his diſpoſition, as leaves it eaſy to gueſs what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legiſlature will interpoſe on ſo extraordinary an occaſion as this, and direct a puniſhment * ſome way proportionable to ſo execrable a crime.

Et quicunque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita———

* An act was immediately paſſed to make an attempt on the life of a privy counſellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy.

No 33. Thurſday, March 22, 1710.

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil eſt dulcius, tibi aſſentior.

THE *apologies* of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the moſt uſeful parts of their writings, and to have done greateſt ſervice to the Chriſtian religion; becauſe they removed thoſe miſrepreſentations which had done it moſt injury. The methods theſe writers took, were openly and freely to diſcover every point of their faith, to detect the falſehood of their accuſers, and to charge nothing upon their adverſaries but what they were ſure to make good. This example hath been ill followed of later times; the *papiſts* ſince the reformation uſing all arts to palliate the abſurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thouſand calumnies; the conſequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate ſeparation. It is the ſame thing in civil ſchiſms; a *Whig* forms an image of a *Tory* juſt after the thing he moſt abhors, and that image ſerveth to repreſent the whole body.

I am not ſenſible of any material difference there is between thoſe who call themſelves the *old Whigs*, and a great majority of the preſent *Tories*, at leaſt by all I could ever find from examining ſeveral perſons of each denomination. But it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent body of *Whigs*, as they now conſtitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox profeſſor either in religion or government, whoſe opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of leſſening their number; while

while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old ſentiments. However, they ſtill pretended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the *church*, even at the time when they were making the largeſt ſteps towards the ruin of both: but not being able to wipe off the many accuſations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing of ſcandal, to make the *Tories* appear blacker than themſelves; that ſo the people might join with *them*, as the ſmaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the *Whigs* have flung upon their adverſaries, there is none hath done them more ſervice than that of *paſſive obedience*, as they repreſent it, with the conſequences of *non-reſiſtance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeaſible right*, *tyranny*, *Popery*, and what not. There is no accuſation which hath paſſed with more plauſibility than this, nor any that is ſupported with leſs juſtice. In order therefore to undeceive thoſe who have been miſled by falſe repreſentations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to ſet this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *Whig* aſks, whether you hold *paſſive-obedience?* You affirm it: he then immediately cries out, you are a *Jacobite*, a *friend* of France and the Pretender! becauſe he makes you anſwerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you underſtand. I will therefore give two deſcriptions of *paſſive obedience*; the firſt as it is falſely charged by the *Whigs*, the other as it is really profeſſed by the *Tories*, at leaſt by nineteen in twenty of all I ever converſed with.

Paſſive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE doctrine of *paſſive obedience* is to believe, that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only anſwer-

anſwerable to him: that ſuch a king is above all law; that the cruelleſt tyrant muſt be ſubmitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever ſo unlawful, you muſt neither fly nor reſiſt, nor uſe any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Although he ſhould force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diverſion; you are ſtill to wiſh him a long, proſperous reign, and be patient under all his cruelties with the ſame reſignation as under a plague or a famine; becauſe to reſiſt him would be to reſiſt God in the perſon of his vicegerent. If a king of England ſhould go thro' the ſtreets of London, in order to murder every man he met, *paſſive obedience* commands them to ſubmit. All laws made to limit him ſignify nothing, although paſſed by his own conſent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a ſevere account; but the whole people united to a man cannot preſume to hold his hands, or offer him the leaſt *active diſobedience*; the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worſe than what I have deſcribed, although a fool or a madman, hath a divine indefeaſible right to ſucceed him, which no law can diſannul; nay, although he ſhould kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately King to all intents and purpoſes; the poſſeſſion of the crown wiping off all ſtains. But whoſoever ſits on the throne without this title, though ever ſo peaceably, and by conſent of former kings and parliaments, is an *uſurper*, while there is any where in the world another perſon, who hath a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal ſin, till that heir be reſtored, becauſe he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This

This and a great deal more hath, in a thouſand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of *paſſive obedience*, which the *Whigs* are pleaſed to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually inſtilling into the people, as the undoubted principle, by which the preſent miniſtry, and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuſe the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *paſſive obedience* is due to the ſupreme power, he is preſently loaded by our candid adverſaries with ſuch conſequences as theſe. Let us therefore ſee what this doctrine is, when ſtript of ſuch miſrepreſentations, by deſcribing it as really taught and practiſed by the *Tories*; and then it will appear what grounds our adverſaries have to accuſe us upon this article.

Paſſive obedience, as profeſſed and practiſed by the TORIES.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a ſupreme, abſolute, unlimited power, to which *paſſive obedience* is due. That whoever is intruſted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleaſure, whatever laws it thinks fit; and juſtly demand univerſal obedience and non-reſiſtance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the King or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatſoever made by that power, are to be actively or paſſively obeyed. That the adminiſtration, or executive part of this power is in England ſolely intruſted with the prince, who in adminiſtering thoſe laws ought to be no more reſiſted than the legiſlative power itſelf. But they do not conceive the ſame abſolute *paſſive obedience*

dience to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued, as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But if he interpose his royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a case of necessity, and then I suppose a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. But altho' the *Tories* allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the *revolution*; yet they see no reason for entering into so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of *tyranny* under the reign of so excellent a princess, and while we have so many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession; the *Tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet at the same time they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament; and so is *magna charta* too, if the legislature think fit: which is a truth so manifest, that no man who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the *Tories* with respect to *passive obedience*; and if the *Whigs* insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form

form a judgment of the whole body, according to the firſt account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their ſide, who are utterly againſt *paſſive obedience* even to the legiſlature; who will aſſert the laſt reſort of power to be in the people againſt thoſe whom they have choſen and truſted as their repreſentatives, with the prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable caſes to ſhew the reſonableneſs and neceſſity of reſiſting the legiſlative power in ſuch imaginary junctures. Than which however nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any ſyſtem of government, either ſpeculative or practic, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's republic to Harrington's Oceana, to put ſuch difficulties as cannot be anſwered.

All the other calumnies raiſed by the *Whigs* may be as eaſily wiped off; and I have charity to wiſh they could as fully anſwer the juſt accuſations we have againſt them. Dodwell, Hickes, and Leſlie are gravely quoted to prove, that the *Tories* deſign to bring in the pretender; and if I ſhould quote them to prove that the ſame thing is intended by the *Whigs*, it would be full as reaſonable; ſince I am ſure they have at leaſt as much to do with *Nonjurors* as we. But our objections againſt the *Whigs* are built upon their conſtant practice for many years, whereof I have produced an hundred inſtances, againſt any ſingle one of which no anſwer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written againſt the Examiner; ſuch a taſk as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my miſtakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the *meaneſt* adverſary. Upon which occaſion I ſhall take leave to add a few words.

I flat-

I flattered myſelf laſt Thurſday, from the nature of my ſubject, and the inoffenſive manner I handled it, that I ſhould have one week's reſpite from thoſe mercileſs pens, whoſe ſeverity will ſome time break my heart: but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The firſt *lie* is a truth, that Guiſcard was invited over; but it is of no conſequence. I do not tax it as a fault; ſuch ſort of men have often been ſerviceable: I only blamed the indiſcretion of raiſing a profligate abbot, at the firſt ſtep, to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, without ſtaying ſome reaſonable time, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, until he had given ſome proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that intereſt and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is ſaid to be another lie; for he was a *Papiſt*, and could not have a regiment: however, this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent, Monſieur le Bas, for his uſe. The third is a *blunder*, that I ſay Guiſcard's deſign was againſt Mr. Secretary St. John, and yet my reaſonings upon it are, as if it were perſonally againſt Mr. Harley. But I ſay no ſuch thing, and my reaſonings are juſt. I relate only what Guiſcard ſaid in Newgate, becauſe it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know, (and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itſelf, after my reflections); but I never meant to be anſwerable for what Guiſcard ſaid, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw concluſions from thence, when I had the addreſs of both houſes to direct me better; where it is expreſsly ſaid, "that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her Majeſty, "and zeal for her ſervice, have drawn upon him "the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and "faction." This is what I believe, and what I ſhall ſtick to.

But

But, alas! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages in that paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctancy are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiscard from a design against Mr. Harley's life; but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who, in the business of Greg, were equally guilty of the *same design* against the *same person*; *whose tongues were very swords*, and whose *penknives* were *axes*.

No 34. Thursday, March 29, 1711.

——*Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi*;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentum mortalia tangunt.

I Begin to be heartily weary of my employment as Examiner; which I wish the ministry would consider with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other with less pains, and a pension. There may soon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am *equally* qualified for each; but this trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may at one time or other, go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those *ingenious* pens which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me; and I undertook to bring them over for *t'other crown*: but

it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side, the advice of some friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon considering what would become of me, *if times should alter*: this I have done very maturely, and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that what I have said upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a *favourite*, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pillored for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs? I said, they were insolent to the Queen: will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold asserters of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against a peace: will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politics, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and ingrossed much of its money: they go beyond me, and boast they have got it *all*, and the *credit* too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I said, they had formerly

merly a design against Mr. Harley's * life: if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused: therefore as soon as they resume their places, I positively design to put in my claim; and I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party who now make their court to the present ministry. I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case: Suppose K. Charles I. had entirely subdued the rebels at Naseby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reason from the former conduct of those *saints*, that if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the King's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller by those very persons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the Duke of York was a Papist: but when that prince came to be King, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately to release his prisoner, who in his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: and therefore Colonel Titus, who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy counsellor.

By this rule, if that which for some politic rea-

* See The Examiner, N° 32.

ſons is now called ſcandal upon the late miniſtry, proves one day to be only an abſtract of ſuch a character as they will aſſume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretenſions, and hope for their favour: and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have obſerved in thoſe papers that come out weekly againſt the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my maſters; that I *blunder* and betray the cauſe; and write with more bitterneſs againſt thoſe who hire me, than againſt the Whigs. Now, I took all this at firſt only for ſo many ſtrains of wit, and pretty paradoxes to divert the reader; but, upon further thinking, I find they are ſerious. I imagined I had complimented the preſent miniſtry for their dutiful behaviour to the Queen, for their love of the old conſtitution in church and ſtate, for their generoſity and juſtice, and for their deſire of a ſpeedy honourable peace: but it ſeems I am miſtaken, and they reckon all this for ſatire, becauſe it is directly contrary to the practice of all thoſe whom they ſet up to defend, and utterly againſt all their notions of a good miniſtry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reaſon on their ſide: for, ſuppoſe I ſhould write the character of an honeſt, a religious, and a learned man; and ſend the firſt to Newgate, the ſecond to the Grecian coffeehouſe, and the laſt to White's; would they not all paſs for ſatires, and juſtly enough, among the companies to whom they were ſent?

Having therefore employed ſeveral papers in ſuch ſort of *panegyrics*, and but very few on what they underſtand to be *ſatires*, I ſhall henceforth upon occaſion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a taſte in the remainder of this preſent paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of miniſtry, the greateſt muſt be allowed to be the calling of the preſent

preſent parliament upon the diſſolution of the laſt. It is acknowledged, that this excellent aſſembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily proſtituted for ſome years paſt, by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority, in concert with a moſt corrupt adminiſtration. It is plain, by the preſent choice of members, that electors of England, when left to themſelves, do rightly underſtand their true intereſt. The moderate Whigs begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands, and that things are now as they ſhould be: and that as the preſent houſe of Commons is the beſt repreſentative of the nation, that hath ever been ſummoned in our memories, ſo they have taken care in their firſt ſeſſion, by that noble bill of *qualification* *, that future parliaments ſhould be compoſed of landed men; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of thoſe who have none themſelves, or at leaſt only what is tranſient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in poſterity, the memory of this aſſembly will be always celebrated; if otherwiſe, at leaſt we, who ſhare in the bleſſings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I deſign in ſome following papers to draw up a liſt (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed; the many abuſes they have detected; their juſtice in deciding elections without regard to party; their chearfulneſs and addreſs in raiſing ſupplies for the war, and at the ſame time providing for the nation's debts; their duty to the Queen, and their kindneſs to the church. In the mean time I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which, in my opinion, do diſcover, in ſome meaſure, the temper of the preſent parliament, and bear analogy to thoſe paſſages related

* The qualification required by this act is ſome eſtate in land, either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion. See N° 44.

by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men; which, as himself observeth, "although they be "not of actions which make any great noise or fi-"gure in history, yet give more light into the "characters of persons, than we could receive "from an account of their most renowned atchieve-"ments."

Something like this may be observed from two late instances of *decency* and *good nature* in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when after that inhuman attempt upon Mr. Harley they were pleased to vote an address to the Queen, wherein they express their utmost detestation of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her Majesty's service, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction.* I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good-will from such a parliament was more acceptable to a person of Mr. Harley's generous nature, than the most *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a subject; as her Majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* she could bestow. The prince and representatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for so important a life: These are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble spirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to bestow, and the *receiver* how to value, although neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other instance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good nature* in the present house of Commons, relates to their most worthy speaker *; who having unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an af-

* William Bromley, Esq;

fliction,

fliction, adjoured themſelves for a week, that ſo good a ſervant of the public might have ſome interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman hath too juſt an occaſion for his grief by the death of a ſon who had already acquired ſo great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be ſo great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I muſt deſire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruſe any paper written againſt the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in ſuch papers, but be ſo juſt to read the paragraph referred to; which I am confident will be found a ſufficient anſwer to all that ever thoſe papers can object; at leaſt I have ſeen above fifty of them, and never yet obſerved one ſingle quotation tranſcribed with common candor.

No. 35. Thurſday, April 5. 1711.

Nullo ſuo peccato impediantur, quo minus alterius peccata demonſtrare poſſint.

I Have been conſidering the old conſtitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet ſo many accounts in ancient ſtory, and with thoſe at preſent in moſt parts of Europe. I have conſidered our religion, eſtabliſhed here by the legiſlature ſoon after the reformation. I have likewiſe examined the genius and diſpoſition of the people under that reaſonable freedom they poſſeſs. Then I have turned my reflections

flections upon those two great divisions of *Whig* and *Tory* (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which side her present Majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government, and to which she ought in prudence to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians who think a prince descends from his dignity by putting himself at the head of either; and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side; and when the other is but a *faction*, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things; he ought in prudence to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case; for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *Whigs* to make up, strictly speaking, a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people; their present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which however if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as *their predecessors* did after they destroyed

ſtroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *Whig*, who is againſt all diſcipline, agree with a *Preſbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *Papiſts* themſelves? How could a *Socinian* adjuſt his models to either? or how could any of theſe cement with a *Deiſt*, or *Freethinker*, when they came to conſult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their ſyſtems of government; where ſome would have been for a king under the limitations of a Duke of Venice; others for a Dutch republic! a third party for an ariſtocracy; and moſt of all for ſome new fabric of their own contriving.

But however, let us conſider them as a *party*, and under thoſe general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* thoſe principles of the *Tories* which their adverſaries allow them to profeſs, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to thoſe profeſſions: After which let the reader judge, from which of theſe two parties a prince hath moſt to fear; and whether her Majeſty did not conſider the eaſe, the ſafety, and dignity of her perſon, the ſecurity of her crown, and the tranſmiſſion of monarchy to her Proteſtant ſucceſſors, when ſhe put her affairs into the preſent hands.

Suppoſe the matter were not entire; the Queen to make her choice; and for that end, ſhould order the principles on both ſides to be fairly laid before her. Firſt, I conceive, the *Whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for *crowned heads*; that they allow the perſon of the prince may, upon many occaſions, be reſiſted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raiſed againſt K. Charles I. or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet ſufficiently

sufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it still closer against the next reign: which consequently they would be glad to see done in the present; not to mention that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion*; their universal undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among *Protestants*; and in the word *Protestant* they include every body who is not a *Papist*, and who will by an oath give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy; they laugh at as foppery, cant, and *priestcraft*. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the *religion of the magistrate**. Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points or modes of dress incapacitate them from serving their prince and county in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? and why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law, both statute and common, understands a

* See *Letter on the Test*, vol. 3.

King.

King of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice hath given a sanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear; and at the same time, their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves from their fellow-subjects; it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors: as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then from their confessed notions of religion as above related. I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters, but the several *gradations* of *freethinkers* among us (all which are openly inrolled in their party); nor why they were so very averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the *moneyed* interest before the *landed*; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might, in a little time, have found a majority of representatives fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation,

nation, which themſelves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are ſome motives which might compel a prince under the neceſſity of affairs to deliver himſelf over to that party. They were ſaid to poſſeſs the great bulk of caſh, and conſequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of preſiding over thoſe ſocieties who have the great direction of both: So that all applications for loans to the public ſervice, upon any emergency, muſt be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to diſoblige them, becauſe in that caſe it was not to be doubted, that they would be obſtinate and malicious, ready to obſtruct all affairs, not only by ſhutting their own purſes, but by endeavouring to ſink *credit*, although with ſome preſent imaginary loſs to themſelves, only to ſhew it was a *creature* of their own.

From this ſummary of *Whig principles* and diſpoſitions we find, what a prince may reaſonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly conſider the doctrines of the *Tories*, which their adverſaries will not diſpute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, ſo they think it next to impoſſible to alter that inſtitution here, without involving our whole iſland in blood and deſolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a ſovereign ought at leaſt to be held as ſacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reaſon, becauſe without a due ſhare of power he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both ſtatute and common, neither the perſon nor lawful authority of the prince ought, upon any pretence whatſoever, to be reſiſted or diſobeyed. Their ſentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being juſt the reverſe to what

I have

I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *Whigs* upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteristic of the *Tories*, which hath much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the *Whigs* but power enough to insult their sovereign, ingross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the *Tories* it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances: The highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the same

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of *Whig and Tory*; let the reader determine as he pleaseth, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the public, trust his person and his affairs; and whether it were rashness or prudence in her Majesty to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

No. 36. Thurſday, April 12. 1711.

Tres ſpecies tam diſſimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio———————

I Write this paper for the ſake of the *Diſſenters*, whom I take to be the moſt ſpreading branch of the *Whig party*, that *profeſſeth Chriſtianity*; and the only one that ſeems to be zealous for any particular ſyſtem of it; the bulk of thoſe we call the *Low-church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other ſubdiviſions having not yet taken either the Old or New Teſtament into their ſcheme. By the *Diſſenters*, therefore, it will eaſily be underſtood that I mean the *Preſbyterians*, as they include the ſects of *Anabaptiſts*, *Independent*, and others, which have been melted down into them ſince the *reſtoration*. This ſect, in order to make itſelf national, having gone ſo far as to raiſe a rebellion, murder their King, deſtroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by it own diviſions; which made way for the King's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did ſtill entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable paſſage in a book publiſhed about the year 1661, and written by one of their own ſide. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend aſked him, *whether he thought the cauſe would revive?* He anſwered, *the* cauſe *is in the boſom of Chriſt*; *and as ſure as Chriſt roſe from the dead, ſo ſure will the* cauſe *revive alſo.* And therefore

fore the *Nonconformists* were ſtrictly watched, and reſtrained by penal laws, during the reign of King Charles II. the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any deſign againſt the government in church or ſtate. And ſurely this was reaſonable enough, while ſo many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached againſt both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *Nonconformiſts* were then exactly upon the ſame foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourſelves poſſeſſed with a perſecuting ſpirit; becauſe we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, ſhould altogether ſilence the *Diſſenters* complaints of perſecution under K. Charles II. or make them ſhew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our *Jacobites* are now.

Their inclinations to the church were ſoon diſcovered, when King James II. ſucceeded to the crown, with whom they unanimouſly joined in its ruin to revenge themſelves for that reſtraint they had moſt juſtly ſuffered in the foregoing reign, not from the perſecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would ſuggeſt, but the prudence and caution of the legiſlature. The ſame indulgence againſt law was made uſe of by them and the *Papiſts*; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common intereſt.

But the revolution happening ſoon after, ſerved to waſh away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run againſt *Popery* was no doubt as juſt and ſeaſonable, as that of *Fanaticiſm* after the reſtoration; and the dread of *Popery* being then our lateſt danger, and conſequently the moſt freſh upon our ſpirits, all mouths were open againſt that; the *Diſſenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and King's murder were now

no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durſt call it a *rebellion* was a *Jacobite* and a *friend* to France. This was the more unexpected, becauſe the revolution being wholly brought about by church-of-England hands, they hoped one good conſequence of it would be the relieving us from the incroachments of *Diſſenters*, as well as thoſe of *Papiſts*; ſince both had equally confederated towards our ruin: and therefore when the crown was new ſettled, it was hoped at leaſt, that the reſt of the conſtitution would be reſtored. But this affair took a very different turn: the *Diſſenters* had juſt made a ſhift to ſave a tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was deſperate with their *protector* K. James; and obſerving a party then forming againſt the old principles in church and ſtate, under the name of *Whigs* and *Low-churchmen*, they liſted themſelves of it, where they have ever ſince continued.

It is therefore upon the foot they now are that I would apply myſelf to them, and deſire they would conſider the different circumſtances at preſent from what they were under, when they began their deſigns againſt the church and monarchy about ſeventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party; and whoſoever joined with them from principles of revenge, diſcontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to ſhelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the *cant* was then) *that God was about to do in theſe nations*; received the ſyſtems of doctrine and diſcipline preſcribed by the Scots, and readily took the *covenant*; ſo that there appeared no diviſion among them, till after the common enemy was ſubdued.

But now their caſe is quite otherwiſe; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe the whole *faction* ſhould at length ſucceed in their deſign of deſtroying the church; are they ſo weak to imagine, that the new-modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *Low-churchmen* and *Freethinkers*, ſubmit to their *diſcipline*, their *ſynods*, or their *claſſes*; and divide the lands of biſhops, or deans and chapters among them? How can they help obſerving, that their allies, inſtead of pretending more ſanctity than other men, are ſome of them for levelling all religion; and the reſt for aboliſhing it? Is it not manifeſt, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the ſame manner as they were by K. James II. made inſtruments to ruin the church; not for their own ſakes, but under a pretended project of univerſal freedom in opinion to advance the dark deſigns of thoſe who employ them? For excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few falſe notions about *liberty*, I ſee but little agreement betwixt them; and even in theſe, I believe, it would be impoſſible to contrive a frame of government that would pleaſe them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be ſure, the *Preſbyterian* inſtitution would never obtain. For ſuppoſe they ſhould, in imitation of their predeceſſors, propoſe to have no King but our Saviour Chriſt; the whole clan of *Freethinkers* would immediately object and refuſe his authority. Neither would their *Low-church* brethren uſe them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are ſuffered to preſide. So that upon the whole I do not ſee, as their preſent circumſtances ſtand, where the *Diſſenters* can find better quarter than from the church of England.

Beſides, I leave it to their conſideration, whether, with all their zeal againſt the church, they ought not to ſhew a little decency; and how far it conſiſts with their reputation to act in concert with

ſuch confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the preſent Moſt Chriſtian King * to aſſiſt the Turk againſt the Emperor: policy and reaſons of ſtate were not allowed ſufficient excuſes for taking part with an *Infidel* againſt a *Believer*. It is one of the *Diſſenters* quarrels againſt the church, that ſhe is not enough reformed from *Popery*: yet they boldly entered into a league with *Papiſts* and a *Popiſh prince* to deſtroy her. They profeſs much ſanctity, and object againſt the wicked lives of ſome of our members: yet they have been long, and ſtill continue, in ſtrict combination with *Libertines* and *Atheiſts* to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews ſhould multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the *Diſſenters* join in alliance with them likewiſe, becauſe they agree already in ſome general principles, and becauſe the Jews are allowed to be a *ſtiff-necked and rebellious people?*

It is the part of wiſe men to conceal their paſſions, when they are not in circumſtances of exerting them to purpoſe; the arts of getting power, and preſerving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reaſonable hopes of the *Diſſenters* ſeem to be at an end; their comrades, the *Whigs* and *Freethinkers*, are juſt in a condition proper to be forſaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Beſides, it ſometimes happens for a cauſe to be exhauſted and worn out, as that of the *Whigs* in general ſeems at preſent to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope reſtoring that decayed intereſt, as for a man of ſixty to talk of entering on a new ſcene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumſtances and new men muſt ariſe, as well as new occaſions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that

* Louis XIV. King of France.

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the *Diſſenters* have no game left at preſent, but to ſecure their *indulgence:* in order to which, I will be ſo bold to offer them ſome advice.

Firſt, That until ſome proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, ſo great a majority as there is now againſt them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but diſperſe themſelves, and lie dormant againſt ſome better opportunity. I have ſhewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly loſe none by its fall, unleſs through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the Queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined intereſt of thoſe who have uſed her ſo ill; and by a due reſpect to the perſons ſhe is pleaſed to truſt at preſent with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when ſtruggling can do them no good, and may poſſibly hurt them; what is left, but to be ſilent and paſſive?

Secondly, Although there be no law (beſides that of God almighty) againſt *occaſional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *Diſſenters* to uſe it as tenderly as they can: for beſides the infamous hypocriſy of the thing itſelf, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy neceſſary. And after all they have ſaid to juſtify themſelves in this point, it ſtill continues hard to conceive, how thoſe conſciences can pretend to be ſcrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the *laſt place*, I am humbly of opinion, that the *Diſſenters* would do well to drop that *leſſon* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehenſions, that the *Tories* are in the intereſt of the *pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worſt grace in the world that they

they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if those who *alone* stood in the gap against all the incroachments of *Popery* and *arbitrary power*, are not more likely to keep out both than a set of *schismatics*, who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince to fall upon such measures as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would consider whether that they send be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written, as I suppose, by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the parliament for *ascertaining the tithe of hops*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer *vicars*. If it be as he says, (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it), the *convocation* now sitting, will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the house of Commons; and he may expect all justice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared so tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewise, who hath sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

No 37. Thurſday, April 19. 1711.

Semper cauſæ eventorum magis movent quam ipſa eventa.

I AM glad to obſerve, that ſeveral among the *Whigs* have begun very much to change their language of late. The ſtyle is now among the reaſonable part of them, when they meet a man in buſineſs, or a member of parliament; *Well, Gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we ſhall no longer have any pretence to complain.* They find, it ſeems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the *pretender*, nor any preparatory ſteps towards it. They read no inſlaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the ſubject. The indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preſerved, and not the leaſt whiſper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to ſupport the war; ſupplies chearfully granted, and funds readily ſubſcribed to, in ſpite of the little arts made uſe of to diſcredit them. The juſt reſentments of ſome, which are laudable in themſelves, and which at another juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been ſoftened or diverted by the calmneſs of others. So that, upon the article of preſent management, I do not ſee how any objection of weight can well be raiſed.

However, our adverſaries ſtill alledge, that this great ſucceſs was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view: that in public affairs we ought leaſt of all others to judge by events: that the attempt of

of changing a miniſtry, during the difficulties of a long war, was raſh and inconſiderate: that if the Queen were diſpoſed, by her inclinations, or from any perſonal diſlike, for ſuch a change, it might have been done with more ſafety in a time of peace; that if it had miſcarried by any of thoſe incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the conſequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy: and therefore, however it hath now ſucceeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try.

But this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit raſhneſs or chance to have produced all this harmony and order. It is viſible to the world, that the ſeveral ſteps towards this change were ſlowly taken, and with the utmoſt caution. The *movers* obſerved as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at firſt, than ſo as they might be able to ſtop or go back, if circumſtances were not mature. Things were grown to ſuch a height, that it was no longer the queſtion, whether a perſon who aimed at an employment, were a *Whig* or *Tory*; much leſs whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to: he muſt owe his preferment only to the favourites; and the crown was ſo far from *nominating*, that they would not allow it a *negative*. This the Queen was reſolved no longer to endure; and began to break into their *preſcription*, by beſtowing one or two places of conſequence without conſulting her *ephori*, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as uſual, that all their buſineſs was to ſignify their pleaſure to her Majeſty. But although the perſons the Queen had choſen were ſuch as no objection could well be raiſed againſt upon the ſcore of party, yet the *oligarchy* took the alarm; their ſovereign authority was, it ſeems, called in queſtion; they grew into anger and diſcontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated.

ted. All former obligations to their ſovereign now became cancelled; and they put themſelves upon the foot of people, who are hardly uſed after the moſt eminent ſervices.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by thoſe he hath moſt confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himſelf as ſoon as poſſible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; becauſe from the monſtrous incroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition he cannot tell how long it may continue to be ſo. And it will be found upon inquiring into hiſtory, that moſt of thoſe princes who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to ſtruggle, until they were quite ſunk.

The *Whigs* are every day curſing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and inſatiable covetouſneſs of a *certain perſon*, as the cauſe of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one ſingle removal* might have ſet all things right. But the intereſts of that *ſingle perſon* were found upon experience ſo complicated and woven with the reſt by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than diſſolve ſuch an union.

I have always heard and underſtood, that a king of England poſſeſſed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that ſuch a monarch ought to do; and purſued the real intereſt of himſelf and his kingdom. Will they allow her Majeſty to be in thoſe circumſtances at preſent? And was it not plain by the addreſſes ſent from all parts of the iſland, and by the viſible diſpoſition of the people, that ſuch a parliament would undoubtedly be choſen? And ſo

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it proved without the court's using any arts to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution would ever allow? Must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank and East-India company, or have their *royal assent* before they are in force?

To hear some of these worthy reasoners talking of *Credit*, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours, or the colic, to be removed only by a *course of steel*, or *swallowing a bullet*. By the narrowness of their thoughts one would imagine, they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange-alley. It is probable *they* may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the *National Credit* is of another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find these *money-politicians*, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the Queen, for changing her ministry in the height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a *Whiggish administration*; otherwise the late King had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of *famous memory* was brought in during the present war; only with this circumstance,

ſtance, that two or three of the chief did firſt change their own principles, and then took in ſuitable companions.

But however, I ſee no reaſon why the *Tories* ſhould not value their wiſdom by events, as well as the *Whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, raſh counſel than that of *altering the coin* at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was ſufficiently juſtified by the ſucceſs. Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the attempt was neceſſary, becauſe the whole ſpecies of money was ſo grievouſly clipped and counterfeit: and is not her Majeſty's authority as ſacred as her coin? and hath not that been moſt ſcandalouſly clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the *Whigs*, that their late friends, and the whole party are treated with abundance of ſeverity in print, and in particular by the Examiner. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves, their infirmities ſhould be ſo often diſplayed in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to ſet forth in their papers of the week; and it is humourous enough to obſerve one paget aken up in railing at the Examiner, for his invectives againſt a diſcarded miniſtry, and the other ſide filled with the falſeſt and vileſt abuſes againſt thoſe who are now in the higheſt power and credit with their ſovereign, and whoſe leaſt breath would ſcatter them into ſilence and obſcurity However, although I have indeed often wondered to ſee ſo much licentiouſneſs taken and connived at, and am ſure it would not be ſuffered in any other country of Chriſtendom; yet I never once invoked the aſſiſtance of the *goal* or *pillory*, which, upon the leaſt provocation, was the uſual ſtyle during their tyranny. There hath not paſſed a week theſe twen-

ty years without ſome malicious paper ſcattered in every coffeehouſe by the emiſſaries of that party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the ſame thing to us: nor do I remember any conſtant weekly paper with reflections on the late miniſtry or *junto*. They have many weak defenceleſs parts; they have not been uſed to a regular attack, and therefore it is that they are ſo ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their lies and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear obſerving upon this occaſion, that thoſe worthy authors I am ſpeaking of, ſeem to me not fairly to repreſent the ſentiments of their party; who in diſputing with us do generally give up ſeveral of the late miniſtry, and freely own many of their failings. They confeſs the monſtrous *debt upon the navy* to have been cauſed by moſt ſcandalous miſmanagement; they allow the *inſolence* of *ſome*, and the *avarice* of *others*, to have been inſupportable: but theſe gentlemen are moſt liberal of their praiſes to thoſe perſons, and upon thoſe very articles, where their wiſeſt friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that *ſuch a one* was the moſt faithful ſervant that ever any prince had; *another*, the moſt dutiful; a *third*, the moſt generous; a *fourth*, of the greateſt integrity: ſo that I look upon theſe champions rather as retained by a *cabal* than a *party*; which I deſire the reaſonable men among them would pleaſe to conſider.

No 38. Thurſday, April 26, 1711.

Indignum eſt in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, diſcedi a legibus.

I Have been often conſidering how it comes to paſs, that the dexterity of mankind in evil ſhould always out-grow not only the prudence and caution of private perſons, but the continual expedients of the wiſeſt laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to poſſeſs a greater ſhare of natural wit or genius, than an honeſt man. I have known very notable ſharpers at play, who, upon all occaſions, were as great dunces as human ſhape can well allow; and I believe the ſame might be obſerved among the other knots of thieves and pickpockets about this town. The propoſition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred inſtances. A ſcrivener, an attorney, a ſtockjobber, and many other *retailers of fraud*, ſhall not only be able to over-reach others much wiſer than themſelves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made againſt them. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this may be, that as the aggreſſor is ſaid to have generally the advantage of the *defender*, ſo the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have uſually not ſo much induſtry, or vigour, as thoſe whoſe intereſt leads them to attack it. Beſides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their juſtice and virtue; neither do thoſe who act upon ſuch principles, expect any recompenſe until the next world: whereas fraud, where it ſucceeds, gives

preſent pay; and this is allowed the greateſt ſpur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to ſtop ſome growing evil, the wits of thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to break it with ſecrecy or impunity, are immediately at work; and even among thoſe who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They deſire to reap the advantage if poſſible without the ſhame, or at leaſt without the danger. This art is what I take that dextrous race of men, ſprung up ſoon after the revolution, to have ſtudied with greater application ever ſince, and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of ſome Romiſh caſuiſts, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum ſine peccato poſſint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will juſt forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be ſufficient to ſet you right, and put ſomething in your pocket beſides: how much to a penny you may ſafely cheat the Queen, whether forty, fifty, or ſixty *per cent.* according to the ſtation you are in, and the diſpoſitions of the perſons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may ſecurely take or give for a place, or what part of the ſalary you ought to reſerve. They can diſcreetly diſtribute five hundred pounds in a ſmall borough, without any danger from the ſtatutes againſt bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; ſo that you ſhall not know whom to accuſe. They can win a thouſand guineas at play in ſpite of the dice, and ſend away the loſer ſatisfied. They can paſs the moſt exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and ſink the reſt.

It would be endleſs to relate, or rather indeed impoſſible to diſcover the ſeveral arts which curi-

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ous men have found out to enrich themſelves by defrauding the public in defiance of the law. The military men, both by ſea and land, have equally cultivated this moſt uſeful ſcience: neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other ſex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an inſtance that would make ours bluſh to be ſo far outdone.

Beſides, to confeſs the truth, our laws themſelves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our beſt poſſeſſion, liberty. Some years ago the ambaſſador of a great prince * was arreſted, and outrages committed on his perſon in our ſtreets, without any poſſibility of redreſs from Weſtminſter-hall, or the prerogative of the ſovereign; and the legiſlature was forced to provide a remedy againſt the like evils in time to come. A commiſſioner of the ſtamped paper was lately diſcovered to have notoriouſly cheated the public of great ſums for many years, by counterfeiting the ſtamps, which the law hath made capital: but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cauſe that ſaved his life; and that additional heightening circumſtance of betraying his truſt was found to be a legal defence. I am aſſured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portſmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be puniſhed in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almoſt incredible, had Guiſcard † ſurvived his deteſtable attempt upon Mr. Harley's perſon, all the inflaming circumſtances of the fact would not have ſufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have puniſhed him with death; and the public muſt have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex poſt facto*, (which would

* Peter the Great, Czar of Muſcovy.

† He died of the wounds he received.

have been of dangerous conſequence, and from an ignominious precedent), or undergo the mortification to ſee the greateſt villain upon earth eſcape unpuniſhed, to the infinite triumph and delight of *Popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we conſider, that of all the inſolences offered to the Queen ſince the act of indemnity, (at leaſt that ever came to my ears), I can hardly inſtance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high treaſon.

From theſe defects in our laws, and the want of ſome diſcretionary power, ſafely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of thoſe laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are ſo ſeldom redreſſed. But beſides, no individual ſuffers by any wrong he doth to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are ſeven or eight millions, who contribute to the loſs, while the whole gain is ſunk among a few. The damage ſuffered by the public is not ſo immediately or heavily felt by particular perſons; and the zeal of proſecutions is apt to drop and be loſt among numbers.

But imagine a ſet of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game viſibly their own, and, by conſequence, acting with great ſecurity; may not theſe be ſometimes tempted to forget their caution by length of time, by exceſs of avarice and ambition, by the inſolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt of their adverſaries? May not ſuch motives as theſe put them often upon actions directly againſt the law, ſuch as no evaſions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing intereſt, whenever they are out of power? It is anſwered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuſe the late miniſtry their due praiſes; who, fore-

foreſeeing a ſtorm, provided for their own ſafety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have eſcaped the puniſhments due to pernicious counſels, and corrupt management. The firſt was to procure, under pretences hardly ſpecious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The ſecond was yet more refined: ſuppoſe, for inſtance, a counſel is to be purſued, which is neceſſary to carry on the dangerous deſigns of a prevailing party, to preſerve them in power, to gratify the unmeaſurable appetites of a few *leaders* civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counſel, deſperate in itſelf, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an addreſs, which makes it look like the ſenſe of the nation. Under that ſhelter they carry on the work, and lie ſecure againſt after-reckonings.

I muſt be ſo free to tell my meaning in this; that among other things, I underſtand it of the addreſs made to the Queen about three years ago, to deſire that her Majeſty would not conſent to a peace, without the entire reſtitution of Spain. A proceeding which, to people abroad, muſt look like the higheſt ſtrain of temerity, folly, and gaſconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can eaſily comprehend the depth and myſtery of it. They were aſſured by this means to pin down the war upon us; conſequently to increaſe their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties upon the Queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be ſhaken, whenever they ſhould find themſelves diſpoſed to reverſe their addreſs, and give us leave to wiſh for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monſtrous ſtep in politics, I would aſk him, what we muſt do in caſe we find it impoſſible to recover Spain? Thoſe among the Whigs who believe

lieve a God, will confeſs that the events of war lie in his hands; and the reſt of them, who acknowledge no ſuch power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a ſhare in the good or ill ſucceſs of military actions to let a wiſe man reaſon upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence ſhall think fit to refuſe ſucceſs to our arms; with how ill a grace, with what ſhame and confuſion ſhall we be obliged to recant that precipitate addreſs, unleſs the world will be ſo charitable to conſider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes; and that, by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumſtances, it is very poſſible for our iſland to be repreſented ſometimes by thoſe who have the leaſt pretenſions. So little truth or juſtice there is in what ſome pretend to advance, that the actions of former ſenates ought always to be treated with reſpect by the latter; that thoſe aſſemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another: by which argument the parliament that began the rebellion againſt King Charles I. voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with reſpect.

But to return from this digreſſion: It is very plain, that conſidering the defectiveneſs of our laws, the variety of caſes, the weakneſs of the prerogative, the power, or the cunning of ill-deſigning men, it is poſſible that many great abuſes may be viſibly committed, which cannot be legally puniſhed; eſpecially if we add to this, that ſome inquiries might probably involve thoſe, whom, upon other accounts, it is not thought convenient to diſturb. Therefore it is very falſe reaſoning, eſpecially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, becauſe the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to ſupply ſuch defects as theſe, that ſatire was firſt introduced into the world; whereby

whereby thoſe, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of puniſhment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the ſhame of having their crimes expoſed to open view in the ſtrongeſt colours, and themſelves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by ſuch hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but next to taming or binding a ſavage animal, the beſt ſervice you can do the neighbourhood is to give them warning either to arm themſelves or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any ſigns of remorſe from the leaders of that faction, I ſhould very gladly have changed my ſtyle, and forgot, or paſſed by, their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of diſcovering their impotent zeal and malice: witneſs their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beſides that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things deſperate, that themſelves may be thought neceſſary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I ſhall not forbear to treat them as they deſerve; that is to ſay, as the inveterate, irreconcileable enemies to our country and its conſtitution.

N° 39. Thurſday, May 3. 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

THere have been certain topics of reproach liberally beſtowed for ſome years paſt, by the Whigs and Tories upon each other. We charge the

the former with a deſign of deſtroying the *eſtabliſhed church*, and introducing *Fanaticiſm* and *Freethinking* in its ſtead. We accuſe them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the preſent form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or ſome new ſcheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other ſide, their clamours againſt us may be ſummed up in thoſe three formidable words, *Popery*, *arbitrary powe* , and the *pretender*. Our accuſations againſt them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; ſuch as their perpetually abuſing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of prieſthood, their averſion againſt Epiſcopacy the public encouragement and patronage they gave to Tindal, Toland, and other Atheiſtical writers; their appearing as profeſſed advocates retained by the diſſenters, excuſing their ſeparation, and laying the guilt of it to the obſtinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the teſt, and their ſetting up the indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences as a point of greater importance than the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The regard they bear to our *monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *martyrdom* of K. Charles I. in their Calves-head clubs, their common diſcourſes, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raiſed againſt that prince, to have been a rebellion; their juſtifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their induſtry in publiſhing and ſpreading ſeditious and republican tracts, ſuch as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney of Government, and many others; their endleſs lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her Majeſty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear: however, thoſe important words having, by dexterous management, been found of mighty ſervice

vice to the cauſe, although applied with little colour, either of reaſon or juſtice: I have been conſidering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *Popery*, which is the firſt of theſe; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any ſet of men among us, except the profeſſors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the queſtion is, Whether the principles and practices of us or the Whigs, be moſt likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the boſom of the Catholic church, one of the chief was to ſend Jeſuits, and other emiſſaries, in lay habits; who perſonating *tradeſmen* and *mechanics*, ſhould mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many ſects as poſſible; which would either put us under the neceſſity of returning to our old errors to preſerve *peace* at home; or by our *diviſions* make way for ſome powerful neighbour, with the aſſiſtance of the pope's permiſſion and a conſecrated banner, to *convert* and *inſlave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politics, (and it was the beſt the *Jeſuit ſchools* could invent), I appeal to any man, whether the Whigs, for many years paſt, have not been employed in the very ſame work? They profeſſed on all occaſions, that they knew no reaſon why any one ſyſtem of *ſpeculative opinions* (as they term the doctrines of the church) ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law, more than another; or why employments ſhould be confined to the religion of the magiſtrate, and that called the *church eſtabliſhed*. The grand maxim they laid down was, That no man, for the ſake of a few *notions* and *ceremonies*, under the names of *doctrine* and *diſcipline*, ſhould be denied the liberty of ſerving his country: as if places would go a-begging, unleſs

unleſs *Browniſts*, *Familiſts*, *Sweet ſingers*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Muggletonians* would take them off our hands.

I have been ſometimes imagining this ſcheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to ſee half a dozen *Sweet ſingers* on the bench in their ermines, and two or three *Quakers* with their white ſtaves at court. I can only ſay, this project is the very counter-part of the late King Jame's deſign, which he took up as the beſt method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *univerſal liberty of conſcience*, and that no difference in religion ſhould make any in his favour. Accordingly, to ſave appearances, he dealt ſome employments among *Diſſenters* of moſt denominations; and what he did was no doubt in purſuance of the beſt advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the moſt dangerous ſtep he could take for her deſtruction. It is true King James admitted *Papiſts* among the reſt, which the *Whigs* would not: but this is ſufficiently made up by a material circumſtance, wherein they ſeem to have much outdone that prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conſcience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the claſſes of *Freethinkers*, (which the nice conſcience of a *Popiſh prince* would not give him leave to do), and were therein mightily overſeen; becauſe it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow ſtep from *Atheiſm* to the other extreme, *ſuperſtition*. So that, upon the whole, whether the *Whigs* had any real deſign of bringing in *Popery* or no, it is very plain that they took the moſt effectual ſtep towards it; and if the *Jeſuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter ſcholars.

Their ſecond accuſation is, that we encourage and maintain *arbitrary power* in princes, and promote

mote *inſlaving doctrines* among the people. This they go about to prove by inſtances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in K. Charles II.'s reign, a decree of Oxford univerſity, and ſome few writers ſince the *revolution* What they mean is the principle of *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which thoſe who affim, did, I believe, never intend ſhould include *arbitrary power*. However, altho' I am ſenſible that it is not reckoned prudent in a diſpute to make any conceſſions without the laſt neceſſity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, ſome writers did carry that tenet of *paſſive obedience* to a height, which ſeemed hardly conſiſtent with the liberties of a country, whoſe laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the conſent of the whole people; I mean not thoſe who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legiſlature; but ſuch as fix it entirely in the prince's perſon. This laſt hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *Whigs* quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abſtracted from their ſenate.

By thus freely declaring my own ſentiments of *paſſive obedience*, it will at leaſt appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occaſion pretend to ſpeak their ſentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houſes, and the preſent miniſtry (if thoſe be a party) ſeem to me in all their proceedings to purſue the real intereſt of church and ſtate; and if I ſhould happen to differ from particular perſons among them in a ſingle notion about government, I ſuppoſe they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an anſwer once for all to the tedious ſcurrilities of thoſe idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I muſt here inform them, that their *cenſure* is an effect of their *principles*. The preſent miniſtry are under no neceſſity of em-

ploying proſtitute pens; they have no dark deſigns to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But, to return, ſuppoſe two or three private divines under K. Charles II. did a little overſtrain the *doctrine of paſſive obedience* to princes; ſome allowance might be given to the memory of that *unnatural rebellion* againſt his father, and the diſmal conſequences of *reſiſtance*. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never deſigned to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* to be exactly of the ſame political faith; let us therefore ſee, what ſhare each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifeſt, that the *Fanatics* made Cromwell the moſt abſolute tyrant in Chriſtendom. The *rump* aboliſhed the *houſe of Lords*, the *army* aboliſhed the *rump*, and by this army of *ſaints* he governed. The *Diſſenters* took liberty of conſcience and employments from the late King James, as an acknowledgment of his *diſpenſing power*; which makes a King of England as abſolute as the Turk. The Whigs under the late King perpetually declared for keeping up a ſtanding army in times of peace; which hath in all ages been the firſt and great ſtep to the ruin of liberty. They were beſides diſcovering every day their inclinations to deſtroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies againſt the biſhops ſitting in the *houſe of Peers*, which was exactly copying after their predeceſſors of *forty-one*. I need not ſay, their real intentions were to make the King abſolute; but whatever be the deſigns of innovating men, they uſually end in a tyranny; as we may ſee by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy, mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the Whigs accuſe us of a deſign to bring in the *pretender*; and to give it a greater

er air of probability, they ſuppoſe the Queen to be a party in this deſign; which however is no very extraordinary ſuppoſition in thoſe who have advanced ſuch ſingular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiſcard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an inſtance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the Whigs are his men. For, firſt, it is an undoubted truth, that, a year or two after the *revolution*, ſeveral leaders of that party had their pardons ſent them by the late King James; and had entered upon meaſures to reſtore him on account of ſome diſobligations they received from K. William. Beſides, I would aſk, whether thoſe who are under the greateſt ties of gratitude to K. James, are not at this day become the moſt zealous Whigs? and of what party thoſe are now, who kept a long corſpondence with St. Germains?

It is likewiſe very obſervable of late, that the Whigs, upon all occaſions, profeſs their belief of the pretender's being no *impoſtor*, but a real *prince*, born of the late Queen's body; which, whether it be true or falſe, is very unſeaſonably advanced, conſidering the weight ſuch an opinion muſt have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the pretender himſelf puts his chief hopes in the friendſhip he expects from the *Diſſenters* and *Whigs*, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were moſt in credit; and he had reaſon to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his ſuppoſed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further, what could be more conſiſtent with the *Whiggiſh* notion of a *revolution-principle*, than to bring in the pretender? A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and diſcourſes have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually diſpoſing men to *revolutions:* and this is ſuitable to the fa-

mous saying of a great *Whig*, *that the more revolutions the better*: which how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions*, he lies down to *rest*: but heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual *changes*, and perpetual *revolutions*: besides, the *Whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions*; like the girl at Bartholomew fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude, the *Whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many *pretenders*, to wit, honour, nobility, politics have they brought in these last twenty years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliment; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, exept a *pretender* at their head.

No 40. Thursday, May 10. 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I Took up a paper * some days ago in a coffee house; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, That "Providence raised up Mr. Harley to "be an instrument of great good, in a very criti-

* The Speaker's congratulation of Mr. Harley, in the name of the house, on his escape and recovery. See the next number.

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" cal juncture, when it was much wanted. *That* " *his* very enemies acknowledge his eminent abili- " ties, and diſtinguiſhing merit, by their unwearied " and reſtleſs endeavours againſt his perſon and " reputation ; *that* they have had an inveterate " malice againſt both ? *that* he hath been wonder- " fully preſerved from SOME unparallelled at- " tempts," with more to the ſame purpoſe. I immediately computed, by rules of arithmetic, that, in the laſt cited words; there was ſomething more intended than the attempt of Guiſcard, which, I think, can properly paſs but for *one* of the SOME. And, although I dare not pretend to gueſs the author's meaning ; yet the expreſſion allows ſuch a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, moſt readers, both *Whig* and *Tory*, have agreed with me, that this plural number muſt, in all probabilty, among other facts, take in the buſineſs of Greg.

See now the difference of ſtyles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occaſion ; inſtead of ſaying how Mr. Harley was *treated by ſome perſons*, and *preſerved from ſome unparalled attempts*, I ſhould, with intolerable bluntneſs and ill manners, have told a formal ſtory of a committee ſent to a condemned criminal in Newgate to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would ſwear high treaſon againſt his maſter, who diſcovered his correſpondence and ſecured his perſon, when a certain grave *politician* had given him warning to make his eſcape ; and by this means I ſhould have drawn a whole ſwarm of hedge-writers to exhauſt their catalogue of ſcurrilities againſt me, as a liar, and a ſlanderer. But, with ſubmiſſion to the author of that forementioned paper ; I think he hath carried that expreſſion to the utmoſt it will bear; for, after all this noiſe, I know of but two attempts againſt Mr. Harley, that can really be called *unparallelled*, which are thoſe aforeſaid of Greg and

Guiſcard; for, as the reſt, I will engage to *parallel* them from the ſtory of Cataline, and others I could produce.

However, I cannot but obſerve, with infinite pleaſure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with ſo many decent epithets, hath been ſufficiently confirmed at ſeveral times by the reſolutions of one or the other houſe of parliament. I may therefore now ſay, I hope, with good authority, that *there hath been ſome unparalled attempts againſt Mr. Harley:* That the late miniſtry were juſtly to blame in ſome managements, which occaſioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the diſappointment at Toulon: That the public hath been grievouſly wronged by moſt notorious frauds during the *Whig adminiſtration*; that thoſe who adviſed the bringing in the Palatines, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly paſſed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be truſted in ſuch employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm ſome other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the ſame vouchers. And perhaps alſo, if it had not been ſo buſy a period, inſtead of one Examiner, the late miniſtry might have had above four hundred, each of whoſe little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos ego—ſed motos præſtat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the ſons of Æolus had almoſt ſunk the ſhip with the tempeſts they raiſed, it was neceſſary to ſmooth the ocean, and ſecure the veſſel, inſtead of purſuing the offenders.

But I obſerve the general expectation at preſent, inſtead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures

who

who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late danger. It is the observation of Tacitus in the life of Agricola, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the Emperor for prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non semper erat Fama, aliquando et eligit.* The judgment of a wise prince, and the general disposition of the people, do often point at the same person; and sometimes the popular wishes do even foretell the reward intended for some superior merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are *two* whom the public vogue hath in a peculiar manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour; *one* of them to be placed in a very high station, and *both* to increase the number of our nobility *. This I say, is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards.

Upon this occasion I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politics profusely scattered by the partisans of the *late administration*, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to *monarchy*, than that pernicious talent so much affected of discovering a contempt for *birth*, *family*, and *ancient nobility*. All the thread-bare topics of *poets* and *orators* were displayed to discover to us, that *merit* and *virtue* were the only *nobility*; and that the advantages of *blood* could not make a *knave* or a *fool* either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome took their rise

* Harley and St. John,

from

from unjuſt quarrels to the *nobles*; and in the latter, the *plebeians* incroachments on the *patricians* were the firſt cauſe of their ruin.

Suppoſe there be nothing but *opinion* in the difference of blood; every body knows, that *authority* is very much founded on *opinion*. But ſurely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chuſing the beſt companions to converſe with, not being under the neceſſity of practiſing little mean tricks by a ſcanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of anceſtors inciting to great and good actions; theſe are uſually ſome of the opportunities that fall in the way of thoſe who are born of what we call the better families: And allowing *genius* to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their ſide. Nay, we may obſerve in ſome, who, by the appearance of merit or favour of fortune, have riſen to great ſtations from an obſcure birth, that they have ſtill retained ſome ſordid vices of their *parentage* or *education*, either *inſatiable avarice*, or *ignominious falſehood* and *corruption*.

To ſay the truth, the great neglect of education in ſeveral noble families, whoſe ſons are ſuffered to paſs the moſt improveable ſeaſons of their youth in vice and idleneſs, have too much leſſened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe, among all the reſt, to that *Whiggiſh* practice of reviling the *univerſities* under the pretence of their inſtilling *pedantry*, *narrow principles*, and *high-church doctrines*.

I would not be thought to undervalue *merit* and *virtue*, wherever they are to be found: but will allow them capable of the higheſt dignities in a ſtate, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but however, that is not the moſt probable place to ſearch for it. Nay, I will

go

go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without *merit* is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more public view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other side, I doubt those who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot without impudence and folly pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered: for no mens parentage is so nicely inquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to those that are *royal*, or perhaps took its rise from a *Whiggish* contempt of the latter: I am pleased to find *two* such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wise polite states both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to covince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by some strained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a *citizen* who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel

el * to be allied to a ſovereign prince in Italy †; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a miſtake of the graver upon his *tomb-ſtone*.

When I am upon this ſubject of *nobility*, I am ſorry for the occaſion given me to mention the loſs of a *perſon* who was ſo great an ornament to it, as the late Lord Preſident ‡; who began early to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the *public ſervice*, and paſſed through the higheſt employments of ſtate in the moſt difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infuſions*, but were inſtilled into him by his illuſtrious father, and other noble ſpirits, who had expoſed their lives and fortunes for the royal martyr.

Pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.

His firſt great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppreſſed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a ſon, who, upon the like occaſion, would have ſhewn the ſame reſolution. No man ever preſerved his dignity better, when he was out of power, nor ſhewed more affability when he was in. To conclude his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is ſuch as his neareſt friends may ſafely truſt to the moſt impartial pen; nor wants the leaſt of that allowance which, they ſay, is required for thoſe who are dead.

*Sir H. Furneſe. † Farneſe. ‡ Earl of Rocheſter.

No.

No 41. Thurſday, May 17. 1711.

—— Quem cur diſtringere coner,
Tutus ab infeſtis latronibus?

I Never let ſlip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the preſent miniſtry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I firſt undertook this paper, I firmly reſolved, that if ever I obſerved any groſs neglect, abuſe, or corruption in the public management, which might give any juſt offence to reaſonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldneſs which becometh an honeſt man, and a true lover of his country; at the ſame time preſerving the reſpect due to perſons ſo highly intruſted by ſo wiſe and excellent a Queen. I know not how ſuch a liberty might have been reſented; but I thank God there hath been no occaſion given me to exerciſe it; for I can ſafely affirm, that I have with the utmoſt rigour examined all the actions of the preſent miniſtry, as far as they fall under general cogniſance, without being able to accuſe them of one ill or miſtaken ſtep. Obſerving indeed ſome time ago, that ſeeds of diſſenſion had been plentifully ſcattered from a *certain corner*, and fearing they began to riſe and ſpread, I immediately writ a paper on the ſubject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of thoſe at the helm ſoon prevented this growing evil, and

and at preſent it ſeems likely to have no conſequences.

I have had indeed for ſome time a ſmall occaſion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconſiderable for a formal ſubject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at preſent to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can poſſibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual ſtop ſhould be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiouſneſs of ſeveral weekly papers, which for ſome months paſt have been chiefly employed in barefaced ſcurrilities againſt thoſe who are in the greateſt truſt and favour with the Queen, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names frequently printed, or ſome *periphraſis* deſcribing their ſtation, or other *innuendos* contrived too plain to be miſtaken. The conſequence of which is (and it is natural it ſhould be ſo), that their long impunity hath rendered them ſtill more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley*, whoſe indefatigable inceſſant railings againſt me I never thought convenient to take notice of, becauſe it would have diverted my deſign, which I intended to be of public uſe. Beſides, I never yet obſerved that writer, or thoſe writers (for it is every way a Medley), to argue againſt any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how ſoon the world grows weary of controverſy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at leaſt have been joined at times in that worthy compoſition; but the outlines, as well as the finiſhing, ſeem to have been always the work of the ſame pen, as it is viſible from half a ſcore beauties of ſtyle inſeparable from it. But who theſe *medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I ſhall never go about to conjecture: factious rancour, falſe wit, abandoned ſcurrility, impudent

impudent falſehood, and ſervile pedantry, having ſo many fathers, and ſo few to own them, that Curioſity herſelf would not be at the pains to gueſs. It is the firſt time I ever did myſelf the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occaſion likely to happen, that would make it neceſſary for me to engage with ſuch an adverſary. This paper is weekly publiſhed, and as appears by the number, hath been ſo for ſeveral months; and is next to the *Obſervator* allowed to be the beſt production of the party. Laſt week my printer brought me that of May 7. No 32. where there are two paragraphs relating to the Speaker of the houſe of Commons, and to Mr. Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with ſuch an antagoniſt, I cannot let paſs without failing in my duty to the public: and if thoſe in power will ſuffer ſuch infamous inſinuations to paſs with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I deſire to open this matter, and leave the *Whigs* themſelves to determine upon it. The houſe of Commons reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the Speaker ſhould congratulate Mr. Harley's eſcape and recovery in the name of the houſe, upon his firſt attendance on their ſervice. This is accordingly done; and the ſpeech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by order of the houſe. The author of the *Medley* takes this ſpeech to taſk the very next week after it is publiſhed; telling us in the aforeſaid paper, that "the "Speaker's commending Mr. Harley for being an "inſtrument of great good to the nation, was ill-"choſen flattery; becauſe Mr. Harley had brought "the nation under great difficulties, to ſay no "more." He ſays, "that when the Speaker tells "Mr. Harley, that Providence hath wonderfully "preſerved him from ſome unparallelled attempts" (for that the *Medley* alludes to), "he only revives

" a falſe and groundleſs calumny upon other men; " which is an inſtance of impotent, but inveterate " malice that makes him [the Speaker] ſtill appear " more vile and contemptible." This is an extract from his firſt paragraph. In the next this writer ſays, " that the Speaker's praying to God for the " continuance of Mr. Harley's life, as an invalua- " ble bleſſing, was a fulſome piece of inſincerity, " which expoſes him to ſhame and deriſion; be- " cauſe he is known to bear ill-will to Mr. Harley, " to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to " to think him an obſtructor of thoſe fine meaſures " he would bring about.

I now appeal to the *Whigs* themſelves, whether a great miniſter of ſtate, in high favour with the Queen, and a ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, were ever publicly treated after ſo extraordinary a manner in the moſt licentious times? For this is not a clandeſtine libel ſtolen into the world, but openly printed and ſold with the bookſeller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr. Harley is generally believed upon the very point to be made an earl, and promoted to the moſt important ſtation of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of eſteem he hath ſo lately received from the whole repreſentative body of the people, are called *ill-choſen flattery, and a fulſome piece of inſincerity, expoſing the donors to ſhame and deriſion.*

Does this intrepid writer think he hath ſufficiently diſguiſed the matter by that ſtale artifice of altering the ſtory, and putting it as a ſuppoſed caſe? Did any man, who ever ſaw the congratulatory ſpeech, read either of thoſe paragraphs in the *Medley* without interpreting them juſt as I have done? Will the author declare upon his great ſincerity, that he never had any ſuch meaning? Is it enough, that a jury at Weſtminſter-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the Speaker and Mr. Harley

Harley in that paper? Which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to have seen any libel, supposed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an apprehension of his reader's dulness, or an effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very phrases of the Speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and to prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old evasion, and say, That I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse: let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which however have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was, to *examine* some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary; to animadvert upon mens actions, rather than their speculations; to shew the necessity there was of changing the ministry, that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles and practices under the former administration; and prove, by many instances, that those who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true interest of prince and people This I may modestly hope hath, in some measure, been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed; which was, to inform

the ignorant, and those at a distance, and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues* *, who every month publisheth an extract from votes, news-papers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political state of Great Britain.* This ingenious piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch no doubt conceive most noble sentiments of us conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for April, that the vanity so predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of Guiscard, than the safety of Mr. Harley. And for fear we should think the worse of his country upon that *assassin's* account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villanies committed in England than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, or indeed of common sense, and who is devoted to a faction, I suppose for no other reason, but his having more *Whig* customers than *Tories*, should take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I presume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his former monthly productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishest composition. If such

* One Abel Boyer.

a work muſt be done, I wiſh ſome tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not ſuffer a little whiffling Frenchman to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and preſume to inſtruct foreigners in our politics.

No 42. Thurſday, May 24. 1711.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædeſque labentes deorum. ———

SEveral letters have been lately ſent me, deſiring I would make honourable mention of the pious deſign of building fifty churches in ſeveral parts of London and Weſtminſter, where they are moſt wanted, occaſioned by an addreſs of the *convocation* to the Queen, and recommended by her Majeſty to the houſe of Commons; who immediately promiſed they *would enable her to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this ſeſſion; at which time I propoſed to deliver a particular account of the great and uſeful things already performed by this preſent parliament. But in compliance to thoſe who give themſelves the trouble of adviſing me, and partly convinced by the reaſons they offer; I am content to beſtow a paper upon a ſubject that indeed ſo well deſerveth it.

The clergy, and whoever elſe have a true concern for the conſtitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleaſed with one proſpect in this new ſcene of public affairs. They may very well remem-

ber the time, when every ſeſſion of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to paſs without burſting into ſome ſtorm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy eſcape until the next meeting; upon which we reſumed our ſecret apprehenſions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered, the parliament takes the neceſſities of the church into conſideration, receives the propoſals of the clergy met in convocation, and amidſt all the exigencies *of a long expenſive war* and *under the preſſure of heavy debts*, finds a ſupply for erecting fifty edifices for the ſervice of God. And it appears by the addreſs of the Commons to her Majeſty upon this occaſion, (wherein they diſcovered a true ſpirit of religion), that applying the money granted *to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, would, in their opinion, be the moſt effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to uſe their own words) "be a means of drawing down bleſſ-"ings on her Majeſty's undertakings, as it adds to "the number of thoſe places, where the prayers "of her devout and faithful ſubjects will be daily "offered up to God for the proſperity of her go-"vernment at home, and the ſucceſs of her arms "abroad."

I am ſometimes hoping, that we are not naturally ſo bad a people as we have appeared for ſome years paſt. *Faction*, in order to ſupport itſelf, is generally forced to make uſe of ſuch abominable inſtruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpreſſed, and cannot appear to exert itſelf; but when that is broken and ſuppreſſed, when things return to the old courſe, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reaſon and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or eſcape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of ſome god, to whoſe peculiar favour they imputed their ſucceſs or delivery: and

ſometimes

ſometimes the general did the like, *at his own expence*, to acquit himſelf of ſome pious vow he had made. How little of any thing reſembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reaſon, among others, they have turned to ſo little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was conſiſtent to offer up our edifices only to *thoſe* whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his ſtead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at ſix thouſand pounds for a church, which is ſomewhat *under* the price of a *ſubject's palace*; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thouſand ſouls, with the benefit of their prayers for the proſperity of their Queen and country, may be almoſt put in the balance with the domeſtic convenience, or even magnificence of any *ſubject* whatſoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of Captain Graunt, publiſhed ſome obſervations upon the bills of mortality about five years after the *reſtoration*, tells us the pariſhes in London were even then ſo unequally divided, that ſome were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time the increaſe of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the deſire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and have ever ſince continued, have prodigiouſly enlarged this town on all ſides, where it was capable of increaſe; and thoſe tracts of land built into ſtreets have generally continued of the ſame pariſh they belonged to while they lay in fields; ſo that the care of above thirty thouſand ſouls hath been ſometimes committed to one miniſter, whoſe church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in thoſe pariſhes obliged to pay above a groat a-year to their ſpiritual paſtor. Some few of thoſe pariſhes have been

been ſince divided, in others were erected chapels of eaſe, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor ſhifts and expedients, to the infinite ſhame and ſcandal of ſo vaſt and flouriſhing a city, have been thought ſufficient for the ſervice of God and religion, as if they were circumſtances wholly indifferent.

This defect among other conſequences of it hath made *ſchiſm* a ſort of neceſſary evil; there being at leaſt three hundred thouſand inhabitants in this town whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever ſo well diſpoſed: and in a city not overſtocked with zeal, the only way to preſerve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as eaſy and cheap as poſſible; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger pariſhes the preſs is ſo great, and the pew-keepers tax ſo exorbitant, that thoſe who love to ſave trouble and money, either ſtay at home or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any Chriſtian country, of ſo great a neglect of religion: and the diſſenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *ſowing tares among the wheat while men ſlept*, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to ſay truth, the way practiſed by ſeveral pariſhes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary ſubſcriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but hath many pernicious conſequences attending it; ſuch a precarious dependence ſubjecting a clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary ſpirit and reſolution, to many inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wiſdom and piety of the preſent parliament, and a tax laid upon every houſe in a pariſh for the ſupport of their paſtor. Neither indeed can it be conceived,

conceived, why a houſe whoſe purchaſe is not reckoned above one third leſs than land of the ſame yearly rent, ſhould not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half-tithe) to the ſupport of the miniſter. One thing I could wiſh, that, in fixing the maintenance of the ſeveral miniſters in theſe new-intended pariſhes, no determinate ſum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided, but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each houſe, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in ſeveral pariſhes of the city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his ſucceſſors were to receive for ever a certain ſum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a-year. But the lawgivers did not conſider, that what we call at preſent one hundred pounds will not in proceſs of time have the intrinſic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty ſhillings three hundred years ago. There are a thouſand inſtances of this all over England in reſerved rents applied to hoſpitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themſelves, in thoſe payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better diſpoſitions than her preſent Majeſty for the advancement of true religion; ſo there never was any age, that produced greater occaſions to employ them on. It is an unſpeakable misfortune, that any deſign of ſo excellent a Queen ſhould be checked by the neceſſities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of *modern politicians* have involved us in againſt all the maxims whereby our country flouriſhed ſo many hundred years: elſe her Majeſty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Thoſe noble countries ſtocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until ſome better

ter care be taken for cultivating Chriſtianity among them. If the governors of thoſe ſeveral colonies were obliged at certain times to tranſmit an exact repreſentation of the ſtate of religion in their ſeveral diſtricts, and the legiſlature here would, in time of leiſure, take that affair under their conſideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her Majeſty's reign.

But, to wave further ſpeculations upon ſo remote a ſcene, while we have ſubjects enough to employ them on at home: it is to be hoped the clergy will not ſlip any proper opportunity of improving the pious diſpoſitions of the Queen and kingdom for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times paſt, they conſider how rarely ſuch conjunctures are like to happen. What if ſome method were thought on towards repairing of churches? for which there is like to be too frequent occaſion; thoſe ancient Gothic ſtructures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay. That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections ſeems, in my opinion, not very ſuitable either to the dignity and uſefulneſs of the work, or to the honour of our country; ſince it might be eaſily done with very little charge to the public in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are ſo frequently called. But theſe and other regulations muſt be left to a time of *peace*; which I ſhall humbly preſume to wiſh may ſoon be our ſhare, however offenſive it may be to any, either *abroad* or at *home*, who are gainers by the war.

No. 43. Thurſday, May 31. 1711.

Scilicit, ut poſſis curvo dignoſcere rectum.

HAving been forced in my papers to uſe the cant words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have ſo often varied their ſignifications for twenty years paſt; I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the ſeveral changes thoſe two terms have undergone ſince that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always underſtood by each of them, ſince I undertook this work. I reckon that theſe ſorts of conceited appellations are uſually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themſelves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cauſe, are conſequently the moſt violent partiſans of what they eſpouſe, and in their quarrels uſually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is ſure to ſtick; and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adverſaries at firſt intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the Praſini and Veneti, the Guelfs and Gibelines, Huguenots and Papiſts, Roundheads and Cavaliers, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there ſeems to have been a barrenneſs of invention in this point; the words *Whig* and *Tory*, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been preſſed to the ſervice of many ſucceſſions of parties with very different ideas faſtened to them. This diſtinction, I think, began towards the later part of King Charles II.'s reign, was dropt during that of his ſucceſſor, and then revived at the *revolution*; ſince which it hath perpetually flouriſhed, although applied to very different kinds of principles and perſons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, ſome of both houſes

houſes were for a *regency* to the Prince of Orange, with a reſervation of ſtyle and title to the abſent King, which ſhould be made uſe of in all public acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the ſucceſſion ſhould immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the laſt King were actually dead. And although the diſſenting Lords (in whoſe houſe the chief oppoſition was) did at laſt yield both thoſe points, took the oaths to the new King, and many of them employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other ſide; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although ſome of them were of the moſt eminent for abilities and virtue, and ſerved that prince both in his councils and his army with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the ſame time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleaſed with the ſcheme of a *regency*, or at leaſt an uninterrupted lineal ſucceſſion, for the ſake of thoſe whoſe conſciences were truly *ſcrupulous*; and they thought there were ſome circumſtances in the caſe of the deprived biſhops, that looked a little hard, or at leaſt deſerved commiſeration.

Theſe and other the like reflections did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

Some time after the revolution the diſtinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which was raiſed by the Diſſenters in order to break the church-party by dividing the members into *high* and *low*; and the opinion raiſed, that the *high* joined with the *Papiſts*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *Diſſenters*.

And here I ſhall take leave to produce ſome principles, which, in the ſeveral periods of the late reign, ſerved to denote a man of one or the other party.

party. To be againſt a ſtanding army in the time of peace was all *High-church*, *Tory*, and *tantivy*; to differ from a majority of biſhops was the ſame. To raiſe the prerogative above law for ſerving a turn, was *Low-church* and *Whig*. The opinion of the majority in the houſe of Commons, eſpecially of the country-party or landed intereſt, was *High-fly* and rank *Tory*. To exalt the King's ſupremacy beyond all precedent, was *Low-church*, *Whiggiſh*, and *Moderate*. To make the leaſt doubt of the pretended Prince's being ſuppoſititious, and a *tiler*'s ſon, was, in their phraſe, *Top* and *Top-gallant*, and *perfect Jacobitiſm*. To reſume the moſt exorbitant grants that were ever given to a ſet of profligate favourites, and apply them to the public, was the very quinteſſence of *Toryiſm*; notwithſtanding thoſe grants were known to be acquired by ſacrificing the honour and wealth of England.

In moſt of theſe principles the two parties ſeem to have ſhifted opinions, ſince their inſtitution under K. Charles II. and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the revolution. But as to that concerning the pretender, the *Whigs* have ſo far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy; which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble Duke, who was accuſed of a blunder in the houſe, when, upon a Lord's mentioning the *pretended prince*, his Grace told the Lords, "He muſt be plain with them, "and call that perſon, not the pretended prince, "but the pretended impoſtor:" which was ſo far from a bluder in that polite Lord, as his ill willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed ſentiments of his whole party.

But to return: This was the ſtate of principles, when the Queen came to the crown; ſome time after which it pleaſed *certain great perſons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *Tory* profeſ-

sion, to enter into a treaty of the *Whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be restyy, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war entirely at the expense of this nation, that they might have pensions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in *a very few*, that shall be nameless. who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his Royal Highness the Prince * had died some years, (who was a perpetual check in their career), it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

'Since that time the bulk of the *Whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain set of *persons*, than any certain set of *principles*; so that if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, He was one *who believed in the late ministry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of the *Whigs* in any of these papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those who were partisans of the late men in power and privy to their designs, or such who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and *Dissenters* of all sizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a stop to further abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past; or those who had been too highly obliged to quit their sup-

* Prince George of Denmark.

porters

porters with any common decency; or laſtly, the *money-traders*, who could never hope to make their markets ſo well of *premiums*, and exorbitant intereſt, and high remittances, by other adminiſtration.

Under theſe heads may be reduced the whole body of thoſe whom I have all along underſtood for *Whigs*: for I do not include within this number any of thoſe who have been miſled by ignorance, or ſeduced by plauſible pretences, to think better of that ſort of men than they deſerve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their diſgrace; becauſe, I believe, the greateſt part of ſuch well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it muſt be allowed, that the two fantaſtic names of *Whig* and *Tory* have at preſent very little relation to thoſe opinions, which were at firſt thought to diſtinguiſh them. Whoever formerly profeſſed himſelf to approve the *revolution*, to be againſt the pretender, to juſtify the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, to think the Britiſh monarchy not abſolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not diſpenſe with, and to allow an indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man was content to be called a *Whig*. On the other ſide, whoever aſſerted the Queen's hereditary right, that the perſons of princes were ſacred, their lawful authority not to be reſiſted on any pretence; nor even their uſurpation, without the moſt extreme neceſſity; that breaches in the ſucceſſion were highly dangerous: that *ſchiſm* was a great evil both in itſelf and its conſequences; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended with that of the *ſtate*; that no power ſhould be truſted with thoſe who are not of the eſtabliſhed religion, ſuch a man was uſually called a *Tory*. Now, although the opinions of both theſe are very conſiſtent, and I really think are maintained at preſent by a great majority of the kingdom: yet, according as

men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the conſtitution, ſo their common diſcourſes and reaſonings turn either to the firſt or ſecond ſet of theſe opinions I have mentioned, and they are conſequently ſtyled either *Whigs* or *Tories*: Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their houſe would be ſet upon, but diſagreed about the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different ſides to defend it; they muſt needs weaken and expoſe themſelves by ſuch a *ſeparation*; and ſo did we, only our caſe was worſe; for, in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not ſuddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *ſtronger* one into the *houſe*. I make no compariſon at all between the two enemies; *popery* and *ſlavery* are without doubt the greateſt and moſt dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of theſe have not, at leaſt ſince the *revolution*, been ſo cloſe and preſſing upon us as that from *another faction*; excepting only one ſhort period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicated king to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared, what ſort of perſons I have always meant under the denomination of *Whigs*, it will be eaſy to ſhew whom I underſtand by *Tories*. Such whoſe principles in church and ſtate are what I have above related; whoſe actions are derived from thence, and who have no attachment to any ſet of *miniſters*, further than as they are friends to the conſtitution in all its parts; but will do their utmoſt to ſave their prince and country, *whoever* be at the helm.

By theſe deſcriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am ſenſible thoſe names are given to ſeveral perſons very undeſervedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the leaſt title to the blame

blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my papers.

No. 44. Thursday, June 7. 1711.

Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

WHoever calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentations of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the last ministry and dissolution of parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours of an inveterate faction entirely disappointed; and this important period wholly spent in restoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject; in reforming past abuses and preventing future, supplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church; and all this unattended with any of those misfortunes which some men hoped for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own part, I must confess the difficulties appeared so great to me from such a noise and shew of opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country is a power against which the little inferior politics of any faction will be able to make

no long reſiſtance. To this we may add one additional ſtrength, which, in the opinion of our adverſaries, is the greateſt and juſteſt of any; I mean the *vox populi*, ſo indiſputably declarative on the ſame ſide. I am apt to believe, when theſe diſcarded politicians begin ſeriouſly to conſider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reſerve their wiſdom for ſome more convenient juncture.

It is pleaſant enough to obſerve, that thoſe who were the chief inſtruments of raiſing the noiſe, who ſtarted fears, beſpoke dangers, and formed ominous prognoſtics, in order to ſcare the *allies*, to ſpirit the French, and fright ignorant people at home, made uſe of thoſe very opinions themſelves had broached, for arguments to prove, that the change of miniſters was dangerous and unſeaſonable. But if a houſe be *ſwept*, the more occaſion is there for ſuch a work, the more *duſt* it will raiſe; if it be going to *ruin*, the *repairs*, however neceſſary, will *make a noiſe*, and *diſturb the neighbourhood* a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of thoſe alterations among us; their joy was grounded upon the *ſame hopes* with that of the *Whigs*, who comforted themſelves, that the change of miniſtry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confuſion, increaſe our diviſions, and deſtroy our credit, wherein I ſuppoſe by this time they are *equally* undeceived

But this long ſeſſion being in a manner ended, which ſeveral circumſtances, and one *accident* altogether unforeſeen, have drawn out beyond the uſual time; it may be ſome ſmall piece of juſtice to ſo excellent an aſſembly, barely to mention a few of thoſe great things they have done for the ſervice of their Queen and country, which I ſhall take notice of juſt as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to ſuffer by a diſcount upon exchequer-bills, which have been

been generally reckoned the fureſt and moſt ſacred of all ſecurities. The preſent Lord Treaſurer, then a member of the houſe of commons, propoſed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raiſing them to a *par* with *ſpecie*; and ſo they have ever ſince continued.

The Britiſh colonies of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's had been miſerably plundered by the French, their houſes burnt, their plantations deſtroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away priſoners; they had often, for ſome years paſt, applied in vain for relief from hence; until the preſent parliament, conſidering their condition as a caſe of juſtice and mercy, voted them one hundred thouſand pounds by way of recompenſe in ſome manner for their ſufferings.

Some perſons, whom the voice of the nation authoriſeth me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization-act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of *Palatines*, who underſtood no trade or handicraft, yet rather choſe to beg than labour; who, beſides infeſting our ſtreets, bred contagious diſeaſes, by which we loſt in *natives* thrice the number of what we gained in *foreigners*. The houſe of Commons, as a remedy againſt this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the ſurpriſe of moſt people, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this occaſion I muſt allow myſelf to have been juſtly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the Commons being diſappointed, took care however to ſend many of the *Palatines* away, and to repreſent their being invited over as a pernicious counſel.

The *qualification-bill*, incapacitating all men to ſerve in parliament, who have not ſome eſtate in land either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion, is perhaps

haps the greateſt ſecurity that ever was contrived for preſerving the conſtitution, which otherwiſe might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *moneyed* intereſt. And ſince much the greateſt part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land or from its productions, it is but common juſtice, that thoſe who are the proprietors ſhould appoint what portion of it ought to go to the ſupport of the public; otherwiſe the ingroſſers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themſelves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were ſo prodigiouſly increaſed by the negligence and corruption of thoſe who had been managers of the revenue, that the late miniſters, like careleſs men who run out their fortunes, were ſo far from any thoughts of payment, that that they had not the courage to ſtate or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer *, ſuitable to his tranſcendent genius for public affairs, propoſed a fund to be ſecurity for that immenſe debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greateſt reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legiſlature hath appointed commiſſioners of accounts to inſpect into paſt miſmanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former paper, mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Weſtminſter, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjuſt to conceal my Lord High Treaſurer's concern for religion, which hath extended even to another kingdom: his Lordſhip

* Earl of Oxford.

having

having ſome months ago obtained of her Majeſty the firſt fruits and tenths to the clergy of Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that Reverend body here †.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South-ſea, propoſed by the ſame great perſon, whoſe thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with ſucceſs, on the good of his country, will in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlaſting honour to the preſent parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that ſeaſonable law againſt exceſſive gaming; the putting a ſtop to that ſcandalous fraud of falſe muſters in the guards; the diligent and effectual inquiry made by the commons into ſeveral groſs abuſes. I might produce many inſtances of their impartial juſtice in deciding controverted elections againſt *former example*, and great provocations to retaliate. I might ſhew their cheerful readineſs in granting ſuch vaſt ſupplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the Queen; and laſty, that repreſentation made to her Majeſty from the houſe of Commons, diſcovering ſuch a ſpirit and diſpoſition in that noble aſſembly to redreſs all thoſe evils which a long male-adminiſtration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that truſting only to my memory I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further, in the compaſs of this paper, than to give the world ſome general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great aſſembly hath diſcharged the truſt of thoſe who ſo freely choſe them; and what we may reaſonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wiſdom,

† See the author's letters to Archbiſhop King.

and

and loyalty of ſuch excellent patriots in a time ſo fruitful of occaſions to exert the greateſt abilities.

And now I conceive the main deſign I had in writing theſe papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the Queen proceeded with the higheſt wiſdom in changing her miniſtry and parliament; that under a former adminiſtration the greateſt abuſes of all kinds were committed, and the moſt dangerous attempts againſt the conſtitution for ſome time intended. The whole kingdom finds the preſent perſons in power directly and openly purſuing the true ſervice of their Queen and country; and to be ſuch whom their moſt bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetouſneſs, ambition, pride, inſolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, thoſe little barking curs, which have ſo conſtantly purſued me, I take to be of no further conſequence to what I have written, than the ſcoffing ſlaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no ſtop or diſturbance in the ſhow. However, if theſe perpetual ſnarlers againſt me had the ſame deſign, I muſt own they have effectually compaſſed it; ſince nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the ſame ſpecies with creatures capable of uttering ſo much ſcurrility, dulneſs, falſehood, and impertinence, to the ſcandal and diſgrace of human nature.

No 45. Thurſday, June 14. 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHen a general hath conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often findeth it neceſſary to ſend out ſmall bodies, in order to take in petty caſtles and forts; and beat little ſtraggling parties, which are otherwiſe apt to make head and infeſt the neighbourhood. This caſe reſembleth mine. I count the main body of the *Whigs* entirely ſubdued; at leaſt, until they appear with new reinforcements, I ſhall reckon them as ſuch; and therefore do now find myſelf at leiſure to *examine* inferior abuſes. The buſineſs I have left, is to fall on thoſe wretches who would ſtill be keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare goodwill towards *faction* and *miſchief*; I mean, the preſent ſet of writers, whom I have ſuffered, without moleſtation, ſo long to infeſt the town. If there were not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak underſtanding, and miſrepreſentation, I ſhould think them too inconſiderable in themſelves to deſerve correction: but, as my endeavour hath been to expoſe the groſs impoſitions of the *fallen party*, I will give a taſte, in the following petition, of the ſincerity of their *factors*; to ſhew how little thoſe writers for the *Whigs* were guided by conſcience or honour; their buſineſs being only to gratify a private intereſt.

To

To the Right Honourable the preſent Miniſtry, the humble Petition of the Party-writers of the late Miniſtry;

" Humbly ſheweth,

" THAT your petitioners have ſerved their time " to the trade of writing *pamphlets*, and *weekly pa-* " *pers*, in defence of the *Whigs*, againſt the church " of England, and the Chriſtian religion, and her " Majeſty's prerogative, and title to the crown: " that, ſince the late change of her miniſtry, and " meeting of this parliament, the ſaid trade is " mightily fallen off, and the call for the ſaid pam- " phlets and papers much leſs than formerly; and " it is feared, to our further prejudice, that the " *Examiner* may diſcontinue writing; whereby " ſome of your petitioners will be brought to ut- " ter diſtreſs; for as much as through falſe quo- " tations, noted abſurdities, and other legal abu- " ſes, many of your petitioners, to their great " comfort and ſupport, were enabled to pick " up a weekly ſubſiſtance out of the ſaid *Exa-* " *miner*.

" That your ſaid poor petitioners did humbly " offer your honours to write in defence of the late " change of miniſtry and parliament, much cheap- " er than they did for your predeceſſors: which " your honours were pleaſed to refuſe.

" Notwithſtanding which offer, your petitioners " are under daily apprehenſion, that your honours " will forbid them to follow the ſaid trade any " longer; by which your petitioners, to the num- " ber of fourſcore, with their wives and families, " will inevitably ſtarve; having been bound to no " other calling.

" Your petitioners deſire your honours will ten- " derly conſider the premiſſes, and ſuffer your " ſaid

" ſaid petitioners to continue their trade,
" (thoſe who ſet them at work being ſtill will-
" ing to employ them, although at lower rates)
" and your ſaid petitioners will give ſecurity
" to make uſe of the *ſame ſtuff*, and dreſs it
" in the *ſame manner*, as they always did, and
" no other.

" And your petitioners, &c."

It is a certain ſign, that a man is in the right, when he raiſeth all the ſcriblers againſt him: I have ſometimes had it in my head to write a particular hiſtory of abuſes and corruptions. As I find myſelf at leiſure this ſummer, I ſhall purſue the deſign; where beſides enumerating the groſs defect, not only of duty and reſpect to the moſt gracious Queen that ever reigned; I propoſe to ſhew in every article, how wrong all things were managed under the late miniſtry; how right they are now, and according to the *conſtitution*. Such a hiſtory would be the beſt means, not only to expoſe the principal actors; but the weekly hirelings who toil in their defence; who are ſo notoriouſly diſingenuous, ſo diſtant from matter of fact, ſo ſhort of that ſpirit and entertainment which too often mingle with ſuch pens as dip only in falſities; that, if I were to rake into their particular abſurdities, (an attempt which they are ſecured from by their exceſſive dulneſs), I ſhould have reaſon to look upon my ſufferings as little ſhort of the merit of that Roman, who, by leaping into a bottomleſs gulf, ſacrificed his life to preſerve his country.

I have been often wondering how it comes to paſs, that the late men in power ſhould be ſo ill provided with writers; conſidering at what full leiſure the heads and leaders of them are, and I hope will ever be; they might certainly have made a wiſer and more judicious collection. If, as ſome imagine, their own hands have dipt in ink, and

that they themſelves have a ſhare in dreſſing up the *Medley* and *Obſervator*; it is a plain diſcovery, that their ſpeculations are as mean and low as their practices: for how can we conceive that the politeneſs and ſound judgement of *one*, ſhould ever deſcend to Billingſgate, pedantry, and noneſenſe? Or that a *ſecond*, who oweth his reputation of wit to his neighbours, ſhould every day make his court officiouſly to a certain great miniſter, and yet once a-week ſo clumſily abuſe him in his writings? When I conſider the factious ſpirit (if any ſpirit they have) of thoſe papers, I can hardly look for the author of them in *one*, who, by what means ſoever better convinced, had once ſo much of that ſort of loyalty as to profeſs himſelf a Nonjuror.

With humble ſubmiſſion to worſe judgements, I muſt determine that the author of the *Medley* is a dunce out of his element; pretending to intermeddle with *raillery* and *irony*, wherein he hath no manner of taſte or underſtanding: his topic of raillery may be all reduced under thoſe two words, QUOTH HE; which he ſeldom faileth, in any one of his papers, to be arch with. His *irony* conſiſteth of the words, MY FRIEND, although ſometimes relieved with an epithet. Doth he think that when he ſaith my *impious friend*, my *ſtupid friend*, and the like; ſaith it in every paper, and often a dozen times in one; that this is either wit, humour, or ſatire? If I were *impious* or *ſtupid*, I ſhould really hope to be his friend, and think he ſpoke in earneſt. *Irony* is not a work for ſuch grovelling pens, but extreme difficult, even to the beſt; it is one of the moſt beautiful ſtrokes of *rhetoric*, and which aſketh a maſter-hand to carry on and finiſh with ſucceſs: but when a bungler attempteth beyond his ſkill; what was at firſt miſshapen, with aukward poliſhing becometh entirely deformed: as the falſe beauty of paint upon a lady's face is leſs deſirable

than

than no beauty at all; and the pertneſs of a ſhallow fop, more diſagreeable than his ſilence.

I ſhould not have deſcended ſo much below the dignity of this paper, as to regard the courſe of theſe muddy writers, did not the heads of the late faction ſtill endeavour to corrupt the minds of weak people, who are at a diſtance from the metropolis, by their diligence and liberality in circulating theſe weekly poiſons *gratis*. Great numbers are conſtantly ſent into the country, to prepoſſeſs the reader againſt the *Examiner*; for no other reaſon, but becauſe they would ſtill miſlead and prevent their being ſet right in facts, that they might not ſee how well the people did to aſſiſt the church and Queen: to this end they have been forced to make uſe of groſs falſities, without the leaſt appearance of truth: but, however thoſe more modeſt of their party here may bluſh and wonder at the aſſurance of their friends, it ſerves their deſign in the country, where truth arrives late; and ſince the mercy of the government, or rather a juſt contempt, ſtill ſuffers theſe writers to continue theſe efforts, it is not doubted *there*, but what they deliver is, at leaſt, free from notorious falſehood. But thoſe clouds of ignorance will certainly fly before that light which now ſhines throughout the nation, from the *repreſentation* offered to her Majeſty, by the beſt *houſe of Commons* that ever ſat; who come the neareſt to our *happy conſtitution*, both in the freedom of their elections, and that true Engliſh ſpirit, which have unanimouſly carried the majority of them *through*, to the end of this memorable *ſeſſions*. In which *repreſentation* the people may be convinced, that five parts in ſix of what the *Examiners* have charged on the late miniſtry and faction are true: which is ſo glorious, ſo unanſwerable a juſtication of theſe papers, that any longer to declaim againſt them, will be as vain and inſignicant, as it hath always been a ridiculous endeavour.

No 46. Thurſday, June 21, 1711.

Pauca tamen ſuberunt priſcæ veſtigia fraudis.

I Hope my countrymen will believe, that I have a very good occaſion to congratulate with them upon the Queen's ſpeech: all the honeſt part muſt be of opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the throne more glorious for our repreſentatives in parliament; or more gracious and ſatisfactory to the nation. Could there, amidſt that awful aſſembly, be any heart untouched at the voice of ſuch a Queen? Recollecting her piety, the uprightneſs of her life, her unwearied prayers and endeavours for the proſperity of her people; from whoſe intereſts hers were never divided.

Her Majeſty filled every loyal breaſt with joy, when, with her graceful air, and elegant manner of delivery, ſhe told her parliament, "The plea- "ſure ſhe took to ſee the performance of thoſe "promiſes they had made her at the beginning of "the ſeſſions; their complying with her deſire to "propagate the ſervice of God, in the building ſo "many new churches: enabling her to carry on "the war; making effectual proviſion for paying "thoſe debts, which were almoſt grown an inſup- "portable burthen on the public; when our ene- "mies *every where* flattered themſelves, that ſup- "plies for the ſervice of the current year could "not have been found."

Could any thing be more grateful to true Britiſh ſpirits, who had done their utmoſt towards retriev- ing our diſorders, than to be applauded for diſap- pointing the enemies of the nation, *in all reſpects!* Not only by their raiſing greater ſums than ever were granted to any prince, in one ſeſſion; but for reſtoring

reſtoring *public credit*, a bleſſing ſo invaluable, and ſo much deſpaired of by our enemies, that they concluded it impoſſible for the miniſtry and parliament to extricate us out of thoſe amazing difficulties whereinto we had been plunged. And truly, if we impartially conſider the meaſures upon which the late men in power proceeded, we ſhall find it extremely difficult to give any ſatisfactory account to reaſon or policy, for their notorious depeculations, (if my friend the *Medley* will give me leave to make uſe of that word); unleſs, like ſome momentary conquerors, they reſolved to waſte that empire they could not keep.

I am very well aſſured, that the former miniſtry, after a long run of ill huſbandry, were often at their wits-end (until things grew riper for that change they had projected) how to prevent from breaking all at once upon the public, that report which they knew would ruin their deſigns. The whole government ſubſiſted upon preſent credit, although vaſt ſums were annually given to ſupport the war; which were ſo far from being applied this way, that every year we were plunged more and more in debt. It is true, the parliament voted ſubſidies, and the willing people chearfully paid them, in hopes, by an honourable peace, they ſhould quickly ſee the end of their miſeries and taxes: yet the arrear to the navy, and other charges, ran on; the miniſtry put a good face upon a decaying conſtitution; they employed all their arts to conceal the real diſtreſs we were in; they procured that money ſhould be lent at five *per cent.* whilſt the unhappy creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per cent.* diſcount, for every farthing they received upon the bills aſſigned them by the government. This they very well knew was ſuch ill management as could not be long concealed: they had ſeparately and prodigiouſly enriched themſelves, to preſerve their wealth and authority; but

now they must invade the constitution. As to their own possessions, an *act of indemnity* had secured them: and for the rest, they had little more to *risk*, than whether they should remain opulent subjects, although without any share in the power; or become masters without limitation.

Avarice is ever insatiable! How then must it destroy, when it has the wealth of a nation to feed on? The miseries of the people, the tears and groans of poor seamen and their families, were not regarded by these devourers; universal frauds and abuses not only winked at, but encouraged; trade not dying, but dead. It is true, public credit was still alive, but subsisted only upon strong cordials; in utter ignorance of her approaching dissolution. Yet no one step was made by these *state-physicians*, towards preventing her apparent decease; much less did they take any thought about curing the malady they had occasioned; they were not so void of reason as to be ignorant of the condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and stood provided of a *remedy* to secure themselves, (which a little time would perfect to their wish), and which all good subjects must tremble to think on; a *remedy* a thousand times worse than the *disease*; where, instead of an *indulgent lawful* Queen, we must have referred to a lawless *junto*, and to an *arbitrary captain-general*.

But now, God be praised, our fears are dissipated: the Queen is *free*, and acts entirely according to her own judgement and inclination; the parliament acquiesceth in whatever she requireth: we have proved the happy effects of their mutual confidence; and, as her Majesty telleth us from the throne, "she shall look upon any attempt to lessen "it, as a step towards dissolving her government."

I could make many useful reflections upon the present happy change of our condition; the different state of security to our constitution, wherein this

this ſeſſions hath left us, from the fears that poſſeſſed us upon the ending of the laſt; the dread and apprehenſion the majority of the kingdom were then in, leſt *that* parliament ſhould ſit any more; the longings and impatiencies of the people, until her Majeſty ſhall think fit, that *thoſe* may meet again.

While the ſinking credit of the nation hath been thus retrieved, by the great abilities and induſtry of the preſent miniſtry and parliament; the *convocation*, no leſs uſefully employed in the cauſe of piety, have drawn up a "repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of religion, with regard to the late exceſſive growth of infidelity, hereſy, and profaneneſs; unanimouſly agreed upon a joint committee of both houſes of the province of Canterbury; and afterwards rejected by the upper houſe, but paſſed in the lower."

I am ſorry theſe pious labourers ſhould be baffled in their godly endeavours by their own brethren. I have formerly, in two *Examiners*, touched upon the nature of this *ſynod*, and their diviſions, together with the Queen's letter, and deſire to reconcile all differences and diſputes; and hoped to ſee the happy effects of her exhortation. The *inferior clergy* have proceeded with a ſpirit truly primitive; their *repreſentation* is writ with ſuch force of eloquence and argument, as muſt warm the coldeſt heart. The narrow compaſs of this paper will not permit me to enumerate all the heads: "They "trace the deluge of *impiety* from that long and "unnatural rebellion, which looſened all the bands "of diſcipline and order; whence hypocriſy and "and enthuſiaſm begat a diſregard for the very "appearance of religion; and ended in a ſpirit "of downright libertiniſm and profaneneſs: whence "adverſaries aroſe, who openly ſcattered the poiſon of *Arian* and *Socinian* hereſies; the Godhead "of the Holy Spirit denied; myſteries exploded,

"as

" as implying contradictions, and incapable of be-
" coming objects of assent to reasonable minds, &c.
" From these wicked principles, wicked practices
" have followed; frequency of oaths and imprecа-
" tions; all manner of excess and luxury, gaming
" upon the Lord's day, &c. Upon which I must beg leave to subjoin, that a certain late *great minister* (in the good company of Sir James of the Peak, and others of the same sort) always made play his Sunday's entertainment.

In this *representation* we have a melancholy prospect of the state of our religion; such amazing impieties can be equalled by nothing but by those cities of old, destroyed by fire from heaven: nor can that deluge of profaneness, which over-runs the nation, have any check from the pious endeavours of our clergy, whilst the majority, on one part, continue to disagree with the other, about the manner of putting essentials in execution. Mean time, the cause of Christianity must suffer, and our *convocations* still have the disreputation of doing *nothing*. The *representation* which themselves have transmitted to the lower house, is the same in very many of the facts. As to the difference of style and spirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the service of religion in general, any more than when I am excessive cold, whether I would chuse to be warmed by a quicker or more languid fire. Nor can I without pleasure take notice of one paragraph, where they hope, " that especial care
" will be had of the education of young people at
" the universities; that tutors may teach their pu-
" pils the principles of the Christian religion, and
" endeavour to make them serious in it; with a
" particular eye to all such who are designed for
" holy orders." Where such reverend prelates are concerned, it were a sort of sacrilege to dispute their sincerity: after this, dare any person imagine that their doctrine and their intentions can differ;

or,

or, that so grave and venerable a body, upon so solemn an occasion, would deal in *irony*, or explain their meaning by contraries? This must doubtless convince all such who have hitherto, upon a wrong interpretation, presumed to square opinions by theirs, and have, with loud exclamations, shewn their abhorrence of an university-education, as tainting our youth with the principles of *loyalty* to sovereigns, and an implicit obedience to the slavish doctrines of the church.

As this admonition must satisfy such who surmised, that the majority did not approve educating children in the university; so the unhappy stop that hath been put to the designed *representation*, hath given the enemies of our holy religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourselves against ourselves) a seeming occasion to deride our divisions: and, as if those solemn proceedings were all but a jest, these ungodly persons are not afraid to be merry with the conceit of the upper house's dissenting from what five of their own members had before in a committee agreed to in the lower; as if they were acting a religious farce, called *A convocation and no convocation*; nor will they believe our bishops can have such concurrent fears of the growth of *impiety*, when they do not proceed in the means that should put an effectual stop to it, only for a *form*; or, to use the words of our church-adversaries, until the last remaining incroachment be made by the upper house upon the privileges of the lower.

These reflections are arrows in the heart of every honest churchman; we would recriminate in vain, our enemies flatter themselves we lie too open for a defence: We must therefore be content to wait with *patience* and *prayer* for a remedy to these *misfortunes*, until the *lord of the harvest*, in his good time, *shall separate the tares from the wheat*.

No. 47.

No 47. Thurſday, June 26. 1711.

Conſolar ſocios ut longi tædia belli
Mente ferant placida.

I Suppoſe ſome wit and much leiſure have made it a faſhion among ingenious perſons, to ſend letters, by way of aſſiſtance, to us weekly writers. It is eaſy to imagine, that I have had my ſhare of ſuch contributions; for which, although I be very thankful, yet I muſt confeſs, with ſome vanity, that my mind is rather burdened than relieved by thoſe intelligences. If I take notice of ſome, and not of others, I proportionably diſoblige; however, as they fall in my way, I promiſe to do what lieth in my power, towards introducing into the world the works of thoſe *anonymous* perſons who are ſo fond of being authors.

In the firſt place, out of his exceeding zeal to the cauſe, *one* is alarmed at the induſtry of the *Whigs*, in aiming to ſtrengthen their *routed party*, by a reinforcement from the circumciſed; as not contented with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Freethinkers*, and all ſorts of *Chriſtian ſectaries*; beſides a conſiderable number of *apoſtates*, or if you pleaſe *deſerters*, from our own body; and therefore recommendeth to me, that ſome care may be taken to put a ſtop to theſe gallimaufry meetings, theſe prohibited conjunctions of Jews and Chriſtians; ſince in order to bring thoſe infidels within the wide circle of *Whiggiſh* community, neither blandiſhments nor promiſes are omitted; the very women proving acceſſaries; as for example, a certain *great lady*, with ſome beauteous auxiliaries, did not diſdain to grace Sir Solomon Medina's magnificent ball and collation;

tion; nor was the young Ducheſs (although a toaſt of the firſt rate) in the leaſt diſguſted at giving her hand to dance in partnerſhip with a frowzy Jew.

Another perſon ſendeth me a letter, complaining of the ſmall reputation of the Queen's phyſicians. This careful perſon ſeemeth to belong to the church by his expreſſion, where he blames the late miniſtry for imitating Jeroboam, who ordained prieſts out of the loweſt of the people; and confining that ſacred life, the *breath of our noſtrils*, to the charge and care of ſuch men, to whoſe ſlender abilities they would be very far from truſting their own.

The third cometh from a ſufferer under the late *junto*; one, who remaining fully ſatisfied of his own merit, repines that others have not the like valuable eſtimation; and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the ſaid merit: he therefore recommendeth to me a ſubject neceſſary to be read by all who have pretenſions, or live in a court, called, *The nature of delay*; or, *The virtues and advantages of procraſtination.*

A fourth perſon is ſenſibly piqued at the *Medley's* popular reflection, "That the Queen's moſt "gracious ſpeech ſhould be printed in *Abel's Poſt-* "*boy*, with this very juſt concluſion: But we have "lived to ſee the day wherein every thing great "and illuſtrious among men is treated with an un- "becoming familiarity: all orders of men muſt "expect to be huddled into the vile multitude; "and uſed as if they had not ſenſe of glory or "infamy." My correſpondent inquireth, what devil owes this *writer* and his *party* a ſhame, to make *him* talk of a *day?* that *ſcandalous day!* when inſignificant *pages* and forward *attorney-clerks* were hoiſted above the knowledge of themſelves, or their remembrance of others; not only perverting to their ſeveral uſes the treaſure of the nation, but preſuming

presuming to give laws even to their sovereign; *that* was, indeed, a *day which we have all lived to see, when all things great and illustrious among men*, were, by arrogant upstarts, treated not only *with an unbecoming familiarity*, but with treachery and pride; when it might be truly said, that, under such petty and yet arbitrary dispensation, *all orders of men were huddled into the vile multitude, and used as if they had not sense of glory or infamy.*

The fifth letter recounts a scandalous passage that happened at the auction of the late Mr. Bernard's library; and prayeth me to give all befitting discouragement to such enormities. It seemeth some gentlemen were talking of a scarce book which treated of spirits and apparitions; one of them asked Mr. Toland, what he thought of *ghosts?* whether he had any belief of such things? He readily answered, he was so far from believing *ghosts*, that he did not believe what men call the *Holy Ghost.*

The next (whom I shall do the favour to shew at length, because he calleth himself a *Whig*, and may possibly charge me with an unfair quotation, if I sink any part of what he wrote) sends me an invitation to come over to his side; but lest this may be thought *gasconade*, I had best refer to the original letter.

SIR,

"YOU have stood the shock of the shallow "writers, aided by the best *finishers* of our party, "with so much reputation, and so much to their "confusion, that I, who have a value for your "person and abilities (but an aversion to your "cause), advise you to renounce the *Tories*, and "come over to *us*. Their business is done, they "have no more occasion for your pen; you must "therefore expect to be neglected and forgotten, "as your fellow-labourers have been. Whom "have they ever rewarded? They go quite con-

"trary

" trary to our maxim; none, although ever so " undeserving, have suffered imprisonment and " hardship for us; but we look upon it as our com- " mon interest to protect and uphold them, because " we have but *one*, the *Tories* as *many* interests as " there are persons. Besides, in writing for the " strongest side, you have commiseration against " you: Nor need your apostasy fear finding its " account, for the reasons before mentioned, " and one more very considerable, which is, that " false witnesses are always well paid. The only " objection can be made against this proposal, " is, you may think, perhaps, you have so far in- " censed us by your many discoveries of our *arca-* " *na*, that you cannot expect to be received with " any degree of warmth or confidence. If this be " your opinion, you are a great stranger to our " principles; we never refuse to accept an enemy " with open arms, when we can thereby strengthen " our own, or weaken our adversary's party; we " are so far true politicians, that both our love " and hatred always give way to our interest; but " besides, all must know our own blind side, which " was never proof against flattery, how fulsome " or unjust soever. How many authors, with no " other merit, flourished under the late ministry! I " would advise you therefore to write a treatise, " which will be very fashionable and useful, called, " *The art of shifting sides*, and dedicate it in these, " or the like terms;

To all honest Whig-gentlemen, and virtuous Whig-ladies, in and about the cities and liberties of London and Wedminster.

GENTLEMEN and LADIES,

" A man who ventures to publish bold truths in " these days of Toryism and arbitrary govern-

" ment, unleſs he hath a powerful intereſt to ſup-
" port him, muſt expect to be ſcurvily treated by
" the perſecuting part of the world: without very
" good ſeconds, he may ſhew abundance of zeal,
" but little diſcretion; like thoſe knights of old,
" who uſed to plunge alone into the midſt of arm-
" ed foes. The only difference between the cou-
" rage of the hero, and that of the author, ſeem-
" eth to lie in the ſucceſs: one meeteth with Ty-
" burn, Newgate, or at beſt a meſſenger; whilſt
" the other gallantly reſcueth his miſtreſs, or car-
" rieth off the prize. For this reaſon I preſume
" to apply to you for protection, and I hope to
" make my future ſervices atone for my paſt of-
" fences. You are too conſiderable, both in num-
" ber and power, to fear a defeat; and too zeal-
" ous of the truth, to ſuffer its champion to be
" borne down and trampled upon by enemies.

Gentlemen, " Your very adverſaries cannot de-
" ny but you have more money than they, and
" conſequently muſt give up the ſuperiory of wit:
" and, although they have diſputed the point of
" honeſty, it appears the balance now lieth entire-
" ly on your ſide; witneſs the many unanſwerable
" ſteps you have taken for the good of the nation,
" the wonders of your late adminiſtratin, your re-
" ſpect and honour for the true intereſt of your
" Queen and country, your concern for the public
" credit, and your readineſs to advance money up-
" on great emergencies, where the ſafety of the
" ſtate ſo eminently required it.

Ladies, " Were your plea to virtue and beauty
" leſs evident, you might ſtand more in need
" of a champion; but I never heard any who
" durſt preſume to ſay, you have more virtue than
" beauty, or leſs humility than prudence; you ſhine
" in your zeal for the cauſe, and your condeſcen-
" ſion is ſo bright a character, that there are few

" men

" men, how despicable soever, but what found " the happy effect of it."

SIR,

" By my intimacy and station among them, I " have so exact a knowledge of what will please, " that I have sent you this rough draught, " which I will undertake to be the universal sense " of our party; only leaving you to model it, after " such a manner as you think best. I hope, you " will not defer your conversion, but conclude " this a mark of my kindness for you. Pray make " your advantage of this advice, and you will very " much rejoice,

SIR.

Your affectionate friend,
and humble servant."

N° 48. Thursday, July 12. 1711.

——Neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.

IT sometimes happens that I am either sick, or lazy, or splenetic; and sometimes, perhaps like other authors of great reputation, I am dull by design. In such unlucid intervals it falleth out, that three or four of my papers are inferior to the rest: however, the credit of the former keeps them up a while; and even judicious people are often prejudiced for a week or two in their favour; or perhaps are so candid to expect a better next time. But the majority of readers go on with the same appetite, whether the paper be good or bad; until they are taught by their betters what their sentiments are to be. It thus fareth between me and

the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always so liberal with his epithets, as if he had them by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every week but fill up the blanks; yet, in one or two of his last papers he hath outdone himself, because somebody hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him truth: and how can it be otherwise, when I am descended from animadverting upon the corruptions in the late administration, to be an antagonist of his? I had hopes of giving some diversion to the town and myself, during this idle season of the year, by exposing the follies of his productions; but find I have been unhappily infected with the stupity I design to ridicule. This *Medler* is the perfect reverse of Sir John Falstaffe; he is not only dull himself, but he is also the cause that dulness is in other men.

However, I think I have found out a way to read his papers, from henceforward, without danger to my understanding; and therefore I now give him notice, that I design to write with wit and spirit for some time; which otherwise he would hardly apprehend until about a month hence.

He hath injured me in saying, *I insult her Majesty's physicians*; I only repeat the words of my correspondent: if the Queen discard her present physicians, he is at a loss how we shall find *Tories* to supply their places: *because*, he assureth us, *the* Tories *are as great quacks in science as in politics*. If the trial of quackery must be determined by skill in politics, I dare appeal to the *Whig* physicians themselves to decide which are the quacks; and whether the *Tories* of the faculty have not made much better prognostics upon the body-politic, by chusing to adhere to the present ministry.

And, if respect to the Queen's person be the question; the *Medley* sure is not well in his wits, to revive the memory of that defect for which some of

of his party have been famous. Suppose him really ignorant; upon ever so little recollection of any of his friends, he may quickly be informed which side have the best pretence that way to favour; since this writer, and I am glad to find it, can admit reverence and duty to her Majesty are, although late, come to be considered as a sort of merit.

Methinks this person, who will be my friend whether I will or no, putteth himself and me to much more trouble than he needeth. If he would fairly cavil with me paper by paper, and then have done, there might be some hope; but without end, I am to be perpetually worried and punished this month for the sins of the last; so that it is not properly *this Medley contra that Examiner*, but *every Medley against every Examiner*; when he seems this week to say all that his little invention and spite can supply, and I may safely conclude he hath exhausted the subject; he returns when I least dream of him, with stale malice and double dulness, to empty that quiver which he hath filled with arrows from abroad: but when his merciless auxiliaries are withdrawn, some to pleasure, others to debate how to retrieve, by caballing, what they lost by ill conduct; or are amused by fawning at court; or disabled by the disorders of a broken constitution; this harmless person abateth very much of the poignancy of his satire.

Whilst I was thus reflecting upon this famous *monitor*, my printer brought me several letters, but not all of them wrote by myself to the *Examiner*, as the sagacious *Medley* suggesteth; with his humble advice, that it would not be amiss to print more frequently those letters I daily receive; his old way of judging of the goodness by the sale, made him extol that paper, wherein I had lately obliged so many of my correspondents, protesting, that since the Roman triumph, or what he calls the *laurel*

crown and Marcus Craſſus, he had not ſeen a greater call for any particular *Examiner*; the reaſon ſeemed plain; the underhand endeavours of my fellow-writers have ſucceeded; the concurrent intereſt of many authors muſt be much more prevailing than that of one; in conſideration of which, I reſolved upon that eaſy method of filling up a paper, and, at the ſame time, obliging a friend.

The firſt letter complaineth with juſtice of the great neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boaſt himſelf ſo long upon the clauſe in the *act of inſolvency*, relating to the receivers of the revenue: he exhorteth me to read carefully the act at length; where he aſſureth me I ſhall find the requiſite ſanction included, although couched in other terms; from whence he infers, that whatever cunning was requiſite to the drawing up the ſaid act, he needeth not be a Volpone to diſcover the intent: he beggeth me to take this matter into *examination*, which I promiſe him ſhortly to do, although to the aboliſhing my antagoniſt's witty advertiſement, and confirming my own opinion, that a cunning knave will ſooner commit a hundred crimes (although of as black a dye that come within a hair's breadth of the gallows) than one clumſy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

The ſecond letter is of ſuch a length, that I am ſorry it cannot be inſerted here: I find it ſo ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it: the gentleman treateth, with a deſcription very delicate, of the art of courts, or the means by which treacherous enemies are to a miracle transformed into faithful friends, profeſſed admirers, and moſt obſequious flatterers; with the great ſecret how to overcome that ſcrupulous modeſty which deters ſome few from imitating the reſt; and embracing with open arms thoſe whom, heretofore, they would have deſtroyed.

A third

A third draweth up a very pathetic repreſentaton of the hardſhips inflicted upon a reverend divine, late chaplain of Morden college upon Blackheath, for no other reaſon but his being an honeſt *Tory*, and truly orthodox: and really the management ſeemeth ſo unfair, that if, upon an exact inquiry, I find the facts to be true; ſuch as their letting part of the ſaid college to a coffeehouſe; reducing the number of twenty decayed merchants to twelve, and thoſe diſſenters; although the founder obliged his truſtees to no ſuch limitation; aſſigning twenty pounds a-year for each perſon, which is alſo reduced to twelve pounds *per annum*: if, I ſay, theſe facts prove true, I ſhall not fail to take a proper time to ſet them in the beſt lights I am able.

A fifth, with gilt paper, neat wax, and under cover, dateth his remonſtrances from the drawing-room; and in a courtly ſtyle, which I am not polite enough to imitate, ſetteth forth the viciſſitude of human things, the change of manners and faſhions; ſeemeth with pleaſure, yet regret, to call to memory an age, wherein poſſibly himſelf might flouriſh, in which the modes that now obtain, would not have been endured. In ſhort, he appeareth extremely ſhocked at the conduct of two *great ladies*, who took the liberty to behave themſelves in the Queen's preſence, before a full court, as if they had been at eaſe in their own *ruelles*, with none but inferior perſons about them. Reverence, diſtinction, decency, were made only for little people; theſe ladies are above the punctilio of laws and cuſtoms: their own charms, the merit of their anceſtors, their gratitude, greatneſs of ſoul, reſpect and duty to their ſovereign, may ſupport irregularity in their poſterity.

I hope the *Medley* will allow theſe paſſages may have been extracted out of real letters; ſince I could as well have produced them for my own: be that as it will, I am glad he alloweth me to keep ſo good

good a correſpondence with myſelf. His cenſure, if it be true, amounteth to no more than this, that I am ſo far from being obliged to others for my matter, as to be forced to father my own upon thoſe who will pleaſe to accept it; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who ſtealeth money into his neighbour's pocket, doth from a rogue who picketh it out.

No 49. Thurſday, July 19. 1711.

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæteraſque bonas artes, ſubvertit, pro iis ſuperbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, et omnia venalia habere, edocuit.

I Conſider myſelf grown a very uſeleſs writer; but it was no more than I foreſaw, when I firſt began with the *Medley*: I knew my paper would inſenſibly dwindle into the thing himſelf and his party deſired; and my time be loſt in managing a diſpute fruitleſs to the town, and inſignificant even to ourſelves; he is reſolved not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted; he hath ſtill his prompters, and I my readers; we both are where we began; he will yet continue to animadvert falſely; and I deſign henceforward to take no more notice of what he writes, than men are uſed to do by notorious liars; who, if they ever happen to ſpeak truth, muſt bring other vouchers than themſelves, to gain that belief which their continued courſe of falſity hath juſtly robbed them of from the public.

I had perhaps cloſed my papers with this, and took leave until the meeting of the parliament; pleaſed to leave affairs in ſo quick and promiſing a condition, had I not met with a very ſcarce manuſcript out of a certain library: I believe the tranſlation

tion of part of it will not be unacceptable to the town. The author is that famous Italian, Giovanni Adollrandi, who made his particular requeſt, that his works might never be printed: the manuſcript I ſpeak of is called *Marcus Antonius*, wrote in the ſame ſort of verſe with the *Rinaldo of Taſſo*, whoſe ſenior he was: the paſſage I would tranſlate, is Fulvia's going to the houſe of Pride, to implore the ſuccour of the goddeſs towards ruining the virtue of Agrippa, the favourite of Auguſtus: there are ſo many parallel incidents in the deſcription, that I am tempted to believe our famous Spenſer had read this poem, when he gave the world his fourth canto of the firſt book of his *Fairy Queen*.

The author introduceth Dolabella telling the hiſtory of the triumvirate; Lepidus's removal, Anthony's behaviour in the eaſt, and Octavius's government at Rome, when he had called Agrippa to aſſiſt him in the management of affairs; whoſe wiſdom and great abilities proved deſtructive to the hopes that Anthony's friends had entertained, of ſeeing him ſole arbitrator of the empire. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, is recorded by Plutarch to be a bold and enterpriſing woman; our poet entereth very well into her character; where Dolabella relates, that he beheld in his journey a ſtupendous palace, with a broad high way made bare by the number of paſſengers who hourly travelled that way; few of whom ever returned, but ſuch whom poverty had reduced: the avenues were filled with beggars, who, although in rags and ruins, retained their former air and deportment: when they required your charity, it was ſtill with a vaunting introduction of what they had been.

Approaching nearer, I ſaw, continued he, two buſy perſons, gaily habited, entertaining the croud that were in the broad road. Theſe were Flattery and Folly. The firſt made herſelf acceptable by exceſs of compliance, and perpetual praiſes; for ſuch

such was her industry, that she left not even *vice* without its applause; endearing to the wearers their very defects. Folly was no less assiduous in bespeaking credit of her sister, assuring her, that whatever was spoke by Flattery was indisputable. In this delightful conversation, the travellers passed happily on to the *palace*, where they were met by Vanity, who with much applause and ceremony, which they took for respect, conducted them into the house of Pride.

This dazzling unwieldy structure was built amidst the tears and groans of a people harassed with a lingering war, to gratify the ambition of a *subject*; while the *sovereign's palace* lay in *ashes*. It was dedicated, from the first foundation, to the goddess of Pride; the building excessive *costly*, but not *artful*; the *architect* seemed to consider how to be most profuse, and therefore neglected an advantageous eminence (made proper by nature) to build one a quarter of a mile short of it, at the vain expence of fifty millions of sesterces. There were to be seen stately *towers*, noble *porticoes*, ample *piazzas*, and well-turned *pillars*, without one handsome room, unless you will call the kitchens and cellers such; which parts of the house happen to be of very little or no use to the *parsimonious* founder; a number of chambers, but none convenient; fine gardens without water; the whole building raised upon a sandy foundation; every breath from court, every blast puffed away some grains of that huge fleeting hill, upon which this palace was erected.

Here the goddess kept her court, within an inner chamber, into which passengers were conducted: she was seated upon a throne, raised under a *canopy* within an *alcove*; whoever gazed on her seldom beheld any thing with approbation but themselves: her beauty was mixed with disdain, and well expressed her inward contempt for inferior objects; she never fixed her eyes upwards, unless when by intervals

intervals they were caſt upon a *mirror* ſhe held in her hand, which reflected back her own charms, the only image wherein ſhe took delight.

My attention, as well as that of the whole aſſembly, was ſuddenly taken off from the goddeſs, and transferred to a lady, who with precipitation broke through the croud, and made directly to the throne: although paſt her meridian, her bloom was ſucceeded by ſo graceful an air, that youth could ſcarce make her more deſirable: her fair hair was tucked under a *tiara* of jewels, made in the faſhion of a coronet. If her beauty prepoſſeſſed us to her advantage, we were not leſs terrified in beholding the company ſhe was in: on one ſide marched Envy, laſhing her with whips and *ſnakes*; giving her to drink by intervals from a cup of wine mingled with gall and wormwood: her other ſupporter was Wrath, who continually toſſed a flaming brand, directing her ſight to a dagger which he held; his looks ghaſtly, his limbs trembling, his body half-expoſed, the reſt clothed with a robe ſtained with blood, and torn by his own fury, which was ſo fierce he could not reſtrain it ſometimes from falling upon himſelf. His breath was inceſſantly applied to the lady's ſpleen and brain, from whence violent agonies and raging frenzies ſucceeded, as was evident by a *toſs* and motion as particular as wonderful.

She was attired in a crimſon *robe* edged with *ermine*, and buckled with diamonds; her train borne by one who had formerly been maſter of the ceremonies, and who, under the falſe title of *good eſtabliſhment*, had introduced her with applauſe into the world; yet, having made the fortune of his votary, he was no longer ſolicitous to preſerve appearances, but ſubmitted to be called by his true name, *Ingratitude*.

The goddeſs not only vouchſafed her a gracious look, but gave her hand to the lady, who was named

ed Fulvia; after a tender embrace she seated her by herself on the throne; called her conquereſs in right of her husband; daughter, favourite, her representative, her other self; bid her name her distreſs, and depend upon her for relief.

Fulvia, with sighs, told the goddeſs, that from a proſpect of being the moſt happy perſon, she was become the moſt miſerable: The laurels daily fading upon the brow of her abſent lord; their partiſans wholly removed from Auguſtus's favour; and, which was worſe, Agrippa, a perſon of fatal virtue, deſtructive to the ambition of her party, was truſted with the ſole management of affairs, notwithſtanding their mighty cabals and hourly intrigues, to retrieve the power they had loſt. Agrippa's reputation was mounted to ſuch a pitch, that she could not behold and live; thoſe two tormentors, Wrath and Envy, giving her no remiſſion, until he were deſtroyed. She therefore beſought the goddeſs, ſince falſe reports, treachery, and aſſaſſinations had failed, that she would go herſelf, and take Avarice along with titles and wealth, to puff up his ſoul, and deſtroy his virtues, that he might fall, as herſelf and other favourites had done, by the ſin of pride, and the love of riches.

To whom the goddeſs replied: It is not the leaſt of my troubles that I muſt tell you, your requeſt is vain: I have attempted enlarging our empire, by the acceſſion of ſo powerful a perſon as Agrippa; I applied the charms of wealth and luxury; I applied myſelf; but he is more abſtemious, more ſedate than before: I beheld the hateful goddeſs of Virtue incircling him with her protecting wings; I heard her tell him, she would direct his ſteps and never forſake him; that the empire ſhould flouriſh at its greateſt height under his adminiſtration; that Pride ſhould be defeated, Avarice return baffled and aſhamed; his hoards inviolable: that the uprightneſs

rightneſs of his manners, his extenſive ſoul and vaſt capacity, ſhould make his a name, which the race of favourites for time immemorial ſhould think it their glory to be called by: whereas hiſtory had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the parallel would be in ſome parts an injuſtice to his character; as if unbounded power and ſolid virtue had been irreconcileable until met in Agrippa.

But, my beloved daughter, that virtue we cannot corrupt, may yet be eclipſed; we will cauſe diſtruſt and impatiency to enter into the minds of his party; they ſhall fear what they ought to reverence: thoſe prodigious qualifications that diſtinguiſh Agrippa, may be turned againſt him; whilſt his very foes admire his abilities, we will make his friends miſcall his wiſdom, *cunning*. Although he be inceſſantly working for the good of the empire, they ſhall be hoodwinked to thoſe advantages. Neither new ſeas explored, nor counties diſcovered and ſubdued; the heavy debts of the empire diſcharged, credit reſtored, peace brought home to their dwelling; trade ſecure and flouriſhing; ſhall overcome thoſe ſuſpicions and bad impreſſions we will make upon the people. Your *faction*, vigilant and bold, ſhall diſperſe falſe reports; Anthony's zeal muſt languiſh; let him attempt no farther for the good of the empire, but his own: thoſe two demons that haunt you ſhall be appeaſed; Revenge be ſatiated; offer upon his altars, and ſupplicate the goddeſs of Diſcord, that ſhe may diſappear from among you, and more effectually poſſeſs your enemies.

No 50. Thurſday, July 26, 1711.

Sed nos immenſum ſpatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equm fumantia ſolvere colla.

NOW that I have completed the number of my papers, and, for the ſpace of a year, done my country what lay in the power of an honeſt, although concealed pen; I ſhall take my leave of the town, with particular thanks for its favour; and ſome acknowledgment to the *Medley*, for ſo conſtantly explaining what he thought my meaning in any dark alluſions or allegories; and retire myſelf from the fatigue of politics and ſtate-reflections, until ſome more urgent occaſion again call forth my endeavours.

It is very difficult, in an intereſted world, for any one to be thought free from thoſe views that influence others; there are ſo few perſons content to ſacrifice their own good to that of the public, that I do not wonder to have a wrong interprepation put upon my labours; and myſelf, although entirely otherwiſe, accuſed as directing them to ſome mercenary end; and full of the deſire of making my fortune, by application to the prevailing party: but let ſuch who are my accuſers remember, that this paper was begun while yet the *late miniſtry* were at the helm, and nothing but their miſmanagement to prognoſticate their loſs of power.

To thoſe who have complained, that my writings were not always equal, the ſpirit the ſame, or the matter ſo entertaining; let ſuch begin to conſider, my buſineſs was to *inſtruct*; I would not deſcend to *divert*: I was neither a Plautus, nor a Moliere; I did not ſo much as pretend to *wit*, much leſs *buffoonery*: I went not in purſuit of a laugh, but confined myſelf to one ſubject, and that a very ſerious one.

one. How extreme difficult it is to succeed often upon the like topic, I leave to the conſideration of the judicious; who know how hard it is to vary the ſame diſcourſe, and admit of frequent repetition, without being cloyed; with which I have no reaſon to tax my readers; ſince the printer telleth me, the ſale of my paper is not at all diminiſhed; or its reputation fallen; which, I muſt confeſs, were temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary views, or were not the end I propoſed already anſwered; which maketh me chuſe, although perhaps not quite ſo civilly, to riſe myſelf, and leave my gueſts with an appetite for more, rather than ſtay till they ſhould call to take away.

And, notwithſtanding the charge that hath ſo often been brought againſt me, with an intent to wound *great men* through my ſide; of my being a contemptible hireling, and a little mercenary fellow without probity or principles; one whoſe actions were directed by others, from whence the machine talked and moved as conducted by higher hands: I ſolemnly declare, I am ſtill as much unknown to the leaders of our own party as to the others, and very likely to remain ſo, as long as I pleaſe myſelf; notwithſtanding the wiſe remarks of the *Obſervator*, and the gueſſes made by the judicious *Medley*.

Among the many pretenders in this town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to diſcover and point out the difference of ſtyle, and manner of thinking, peculiar to the ſeveral men of wit: this pamphlet is certainly from ſuch a hand; they know his manner perfectly: that paper of verſes is infallibly of ſuch a poet, no man in England could write it but he; and this ſometimes even upon the firſt eſſay of an author. I, among the reſt, uſed to determine formerly at the ſame rate, but ſhall be more cautious for the future; having ſeen the world and myſelf ſo often

and ſo wretchedly miſtaken. How many fathers has this paper of mine been aſcribed to! Among all the men of wit, who are in the intereſt of the preſent miniſtry, I know not one who hath eſcaped ſome report or ſuſpicion of being the author. The *Medley* hath gueſſed round; and from his ſkill in that part of learning, called *dog's logic*, thought he would infallibly hit upon it at laſt. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an injury to ſeveral innocent perſons; and if the *Examiner* be a ſtupid, falſe, and ſlanderous paper, as he weekly affirms; I think he is bound in conſcience and common juſtice, to repair the injury he hath done to the reputation of thoſe worthy perſons he hath falſely intitled it to; and who have never given him the leaſt provocation for any ſuch calumny.

The judicious reader cannot but obſerve how weak that cauſe muſt be, which the joint endeavours of their party have not been able to defend, againſt an unknown perſon, who hath had nothing but *naked truth* to oppoſe to whole armies of complicated falſehoods and malice: yet, ſupported by the goodneſs of the cauſe, I have waded through ſeas of ſcurrility, without being polluted by any of that filth they have inceſſantly caſt at me. I have neither miſrepreſented perſons nor things; nay, out of tenderneſs, have often forborn to ſhew their weakeſt ſide. I appeal to all impartial men, whether time hath not diſcovered more abuſes in the management of the late miniſtry, than the *Examiner* could expoſe? The facts are now ſoobvious and uncontroverted, that I preſume there is no need of a *monitor* to point out thoſe things, to which every man is become capable of directing himſelf.

Of all the doubtful ſteps that I have taken in the conduct of this deſign; there is none for which I ſo much blame myſelf, as firſt deſcending to take notice and talk to thoſe wretched adverſaries that have weekly fought againſt me; it was putting myſelf

ſelf upon a level with ſuch whoſe deſigns and mine were entirely oppoſite: I was fired by the love of my country, and that noble ardour which conducteth us through a thouſand difficulties in the purſuit of juſtice: my attempt was to *diſcover* abuſes, theirs to *conceal* them; I purſued truth, they openly adhered to falſehood; my pen was valued for its ſincerity, theirs deſpiſed for diſingenuity; and yet I was ſo weak to enter the liſts, merely to ſatisfy thoſe friends who became uneaſy at their not being oppoſed, and could not account for my neglect: a fault many have been guilty of, in conſideration of others, although againſt a man's better ſenſe and reaſoning; as I could inſtance in ſeveral things, and particularly in one example out of Plutarch; if the compariſon may not be thought too great a preſumption: it is that of Pompey the Great, who ventured a battle with Cæſar, when it was not his intereſt; "merely becauſe he was a man of that ho-"nour and and modeſty, he could not bear a re-"proach; neither would he diſoblige his friends; "but broke his own meaſures, and forſook his "prudent reſolutions, to follow their vain hope "and deſire." How much more commendable was the conſtancy of Phocion, who, when the Athenians urged him at an unſeaſonable time to fall upon the enemy, peremptorily refuſed; and being upbraided by them with cowardice and puſillanimity, told them, "Gentlemen, we underſtand one "another very well; you cannot make me valiant "at this time, nor I you wiſe!"

But it is time to have done with ſuch worthleſs combatants: if I have not foiled them, I am certain they have not hurt me, any otherwiſe than in my own opinion, for attempting to engage them. I ſhall conclude with obſerving the beauty of that proſpect which lieth before me, and for which I congratulate with all my countrymen; the ſecurity to our religion and happy conſtitution, under

our moſt pious Queen, her excellent parliament, and able miniſtry; which to ſpeak of, one by one, would be a volume, not a ſheet, Methinks I behold the younger Cato in Mr. St. John *; all that love for his country, that contempt of danger, and greatneſs of ſoul, of whom it was ſaid, "It was "not for honour, or riches, nor raſhly, or by "chance, that he engaged himſelf in the affairs of "ſtate; but he undertook the ſervice of the pub-"lic, as the proper buſineſs of an honeſt man; "and therefore he thought himſelf obliged to be "as diligent for the good of that, as a bee for the "preſervation of her hive."

By our well-governed ſtrength at home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our enemies abroad: France was never ſo buſy in ſearching expedients that may incline towards a peace: they find it is become their intereſt to be ſincere; nothing but the unexpected death of the Emperor, and that diſtracted ſtate of northern affairs, which at this time threateneth a breach in the confederacy; and the ſeeds of which miſchief have been long ſown, could prevent our finding the ſpeedy effects of it. All but thoſe who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a party, plainly ſee the advantage of the change that hath been made; although conſidering the circumſtances of a tedious war, I am ſo far willing to comply with ſome gentlemen, as to admit there was a hazard in it, inaſmuch as a "civil war is worſe than any tyranny": from whence I take leave to hope, we ſhall not eaſily repeat the danger; and ſince all changes are not good, let us change no more.

* Secretary of State, created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

*** The *Examiners* were written in defence of the new adminiſtration, and the particular revolutions

tions at court, which had introduced the Earl of Oxford, and had displaced the Earl of Godolphin and his friends.

Many of Swift's *Examiners* are personally aimed at the General [the Duke of Marlborough]. In a free country, the power of a general is always to be feared. The greater his military capacity, or the more successful his arms, in the greater danger are the liberties of the people. On this maxim Swift proceeded: and while he was writing in defence of the commonwealth, he had an opportunity of giving a loose to his own severity; of which the *house of Pride*, and several other allegorical essays, are very spirited examples.

But I am fettered in my animadversions on these papers. The present times, and the honour which I bear to many noble families, descended from persons mentioned in the *Examiners*, make me willing to take as slight notice as possible even of the wittiest passages in those papers, because many of those passages arise from personal reflections, or party-sarcasms. In general, the several points relating to the national debt, (alas! how increased since the year 1710!), the too long continuance of the war, and other public topics of complaint, are melancholy truths, justly becoming the pen of a man who loves his country.

Within these last forty years, the political treatises have been so numerous, so various, so local, and so temporary, that each new pamphlet has succeeded its predecessor, like a youthful son to an ancient father, amidst a multiplicity of followers, admirers, and dependents; whilst the antiquated sire having *strutted and foamed his hour upon the stage is heard no more*, but lies silent, and almost entirely forgotten, except by a few friends and cotemporaries, who accidentally remember some of his just observations, or prophetical aphorisms, which they have lived to see accomplished. Thus has it fared, even in

my

my time, with the *Examiners*, the *Freeholders*, and the *Craftſman*. And the ſame fate will attend moſt writings of that ſort; which being framed to ſerve particular views, fulfil the purport of their creation, and then periſh: while works of a more liberal and diffuſive kind are acceptable to all perſons, and all times; and may aſſume to themſelves a certain proſpect of ſurviving to the lateſt poſterity.

But when a young gentleman enters into the commerce of life, he will be obliged, in his own defence, to look into every thing that has been written upon political ſubjects. In England a man cannot keep up a converſation without being well verſed in politics. In whatever other point of learning he may be deficient, he certainly muſt not appear ſuperficial in ſtate-affairs. He muſt chuſe his party; and he muſt ſtick to the choice. *Non revocare gradum*, muſt be his motto; and Heaven forgive ſuch an one, if the *gradus* now and then enforces him to act againſt ſelf-conviction.

If party, and the conſequences of it, had ariſen to that height among the Romans and Grecians, as it has riſen of late years among the Engliſh, their poets would probably have added *her* to the three furies, and would have placed her in hell, as a fit companion for Tyſiphone, Megara, and Alecto; from whence, according to their deſcription, ſhe might have made excurſions upon earth, only with an intention to deſtroy, confound, miſlead, and diſunite mankind.

It is true, that all countries have their parties and their factions. But there is a certain contagious diſtemper of this, ſo peculiar to the Britiſh iſlands, that, I believe, it is unknown to every other part of the world. It increaſes our natural gloom, and it makes us ſo averſe to each other, that it keeps men of the beſt morals, and moſt ſocial inclinations, in one continual ſtate of warfare and oppoſition. Muſt not the ſource of this malady

lady arife rather from the heart, than from the head? from the different operations of our paſſions, than of our reaſon?

Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa?

Swift, a man of violent paſſions, was, in conſequence of thoſe paſſions, violent in his party. But as his capacity and genius were ſo extraordinary and extenſive, even his party-writings carry with them dignity and inſtruction. And in that light one ſhould read the *Examiners*, where he will find a nervous ſtyle, a clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landeſt intereſt of England. *Orrery.*

The houſe of Pride, in the Examiner, No 49. was not the production of Dr. Swift; but was one of the viſions of Mrs. Manley, who wrote the *Atalantis*. Swift.

The laſt *ſix Examiners* were not wrote by Dr. Swift, as appears from the notes at No 13. But as they had got a place in all former editions of the Dean's works, Hawkeſworth's excepted, we were adviſed to retain them in the preſent edition.

Some

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB.

In a Letter from a Perſon of Honour.

Written in the year 1711.

The PUBLISHER's PREFACE.

ABOUT the year when her late Majeſty of bleſſed memory thought proper to change her miniſtry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and ſome others; the firſt of theſe being made an Earl and Lord Treaſurer, he was ſoon after blamed by his friends for not making a general ſweep of all the *Whigs*, as the latter did of their adverſaries upon her Majeſty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew ſo warm upon the ſlowneſs of the Treaſurer in this part, that they formed themſelves into a body, under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to conſult upon ſome methods that might ſpur on thoſe in power, ſo that they might make a quicker diſpatch in removing all of the *Whig* leaven from the employments they ſtill poſſeſſed. To prevent the ill conſequences of this diſcontent among ſo many worthy members, the reſt of the miniſtry joined with the Treaſurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide, thoſe who were in greater haſte than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the ſuppoſed author met a conſiderable number of this club in a public houſe, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treaſurer's ſincerity, with many of thoſe very reaſons which are urged in the following diſcourſe,

courſe, beſides ſome others, which were not ſo proper to appear at that time in print.

The Treaſurer alledged in his defence, that ſuch a treatment would not conſiſt with prudence, becauſe there were many employments to be beſtowed, which required ſkill and practice; that ſeveral gentlemen who poſſeſſed them had been long verſed, very loyal to her Majeſty, had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honeſt meaſures for the ſervice of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majeſty ſuch gentlemen, whoſe principles with regard both to church and ſtate his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for thoſe who deſerved them by their honeſty and abilities to execute them; which I confeſs to have been a ſingularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club ſtill continued uneaſy that no quicker progreſs was made in removals, until thoſe who were leaſt violent began to ſoften a little, or by dividing them the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty we have been aſſured, that the following diſcourſe was very ſeaſonably publiſhed with great ſucceſs, ſhewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real deſire, that all perſons in employment ſhould be truly loyal churchmen, zealous for her Majeſty's honour and ſafety, as well as for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, if the Queen ſhould happen to die without iſſue. This diſcourſe having been publiſhed about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally underſtood without ſome explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, becauſe it ſeems a point of hiſtory too material to be loſt. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the ſuppoſed author.

Some

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB *.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the

* This pamphlet was written in the year 1711, and is so applicable to that particular time that I shall not make any animadversions upon it. From political tracts, the true history of England is to be deduced: and if foreigners were to enter into that branch of reading, they might frame a more distinct notion of our legislature, and of our manners, than from more laboured and connected accounts of our constitution. In such a view, I am apt to think, that, at first sight, they must behold us a disunited, discontented, and seemingly an unsteady people. But I am certain, that, upon a more exalted, or a more minute disquisition, they must find in us a fixed, and, I may say, an innate love of liberty, variegated, and perhaps sometimes erroneous in its progress, but constant and unwearied in the pursuit of that glorious end. What people upon earth can desire a more exalted, or a more distinguished character? to speak in the dialect of the Heathen world, our errors are the errors of men, our principles are the principles of gods. *Orrery.*

Perhaps that clear, impartial account of the indigested schemes of the October club, as it fell accidentally from the pen of Dr. Swift, may throw some additional light upon the history of that æra, which, it must be confessed, is very greatly wanted; and at the same time be a caution to all worthy and sober men, who principally intend the good of their country, in all their reasonings and debates, not violently to oppose and distress any ministry whatsoever, who desire to act with temper and moderation upon constitutional principles. His account of them runs in these terms. "We are plagued with "an October club, that is, a set of above an hundred parliament-"men,

the forms and conſtraint neceſſary to be obſerved in public aſſemblies, muſt very much improve each other's underſtanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourſelves againſt any deſigns of the oppoſite party. Upon the opening of this ſeſſion an incident hath happened, to provide againſt the conſequences whereof will require your utmoſt vigilance and application. All this laſt ſummer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while thoſe on our ſide were dropped, as if we had no farther occaſion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever ſince; and thereby have endeavoured in ſome ſort to turn thoſe arts againſt us, which had been ſo effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonſtration of their ſuperior ſkill at intrigue; to make a ſtratagem ſucceed a ſecond time, and this even againſt thoſe who firſt tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have men-

" men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet " every evening at a tavern near the parliment, to conſult affairs, " and drive things on to extremes againſt the Whigs; to call the " old miniſtry to account, and get off five or ſix heads. The mini- " ſtry ſeem not to regard them; yet one of them in confidence told " me, that there muſt be ſomething thought on to ſettle things " better. I'll tell you one great ſtate-ſecret. The Queen, ſenſible " how much ſhe was governed by the late miniſtry, runs a little " into the other extreme; and is jealous in that point even of thoſe " who got her out of the other's hands. The miniſtry is for gentler " meaſures, and the other Tories for more violent. Lord Rivers " talking to me the other day, curſed the paper called the *Examiner*, " for ſpeaking civilly of the Duke of Marlborough. This I hap- " pened to talk of to the ſecretary, who blamed the warmth of " that Lord and ſome others; and ſwore that if their advice were " followed, they would be blown up in twenty-four hours. And I " have reaſon to think, that they will endeavour to prevail on the " Queen, to put her affairs more in the hands of a miniſtry than ſhe " does at preſent: and there are, I believe, two men thought on; " one of them you have often met the name of in my letters." *Swift's letter to Stella, Feb.* 18. 1710. Swift.

tioned could have been prevented by any care without ſtraining a very *tender point*, which thoſe chiefly concerned avoided by all means, becauſe it might ſeem a counterpart of what they had ſo much condemned in their predeceſſors; although it is certain the two caſes were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been ſafe, for there was no other danger in view: but the conſequences of this were foreſeen from the beginning; and thoſe who *kept the watch* had early warning of it. It would have been a maſterpiece of prudence in this caſe to have made a *friend* of an *enemy*. But whether that were poſſible to be compaſſed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accomodation was rendered deſperate by an unlucky proceeding ſome months ago at Windſor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that ſituation of affairs; and I am told, was not approved by a certain great miniſter. It was obvious to ſuppoſe, that, in a particular where the honour and intereſt of a *huſband* were ſo cloſely united with thoſe of a *wife*, he might be ſure of her utmoſt endeavours for his protection, although ſhe neither loved nor eſteemed him. The danger of loſing power, favour, profit, and a ſhelter from *domeſtic tyranny*, were ſtrong incitements to ſtir up a working brain, *early* practiſed in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it ſafe to count upon the weakneſs of any man's underſtanding, who is thoroughly poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of revenge to ſharpen his invention: nothing elſe is required beſides *obſequiouſneſs* and *aſſiduity*; which, as they are often the talents of thoſe who have no better, ſo they are apt to make impreſſions upon the *beſt* and *greateſt minds*.

It was no ſmall advantage to the *deſigning party*, that, ſince the adventure at Windſor, the *perſon on whom we ſo much depend* was long abſent by ſickneſs; which

which hindered him from purſuing thoſe meaſures that miniſters are in prudence forced to take to defend their country and themſelves againſt an irritated faction. The *negotiators* on the other ſide improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmoſt; and by an unparallelled boldneſs, accompanied with many falſehoods, perſuaded certain lords, (who were already in the ſame principle, but were afraid of making a wrong ſtep, leſt it ſhould *lead them out of their coaches into the dirt*), that voting in appearance againſt the court would be the ſafeſt courſe to avoid the danger they moſt apprehended, which was that of loſing their penſions; and their opinions, when produced, would by ſeemingly contradicting their intereſt have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with ſome arguments of more *immediate power*, went far in producing that ſtrange unexpected turn we have ſo lately ſeen, and from which our adverſaries reckoned upon ſuch wonderful effects; and ſome of them, particularly my Lord Chief Juſtice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate cauſes of this deſertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at leaſt not ſucceeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church-party and the miniſters had different views, or at leaſt were not ſo firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly ſaid, and I ſuppoſe not without ſome ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were diſcontented to find ſo *little done*; that they thought it looked as if people were *not in earneſt*; that they expected to ſee a *thorough change* with reſpect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with perſons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints and leſs danger from the other party; that this change

was hoped for all laſt ſummer, and even to the opening of the ſeſſion, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by ſome in favour of the miniſtry, that it was impoſſible to find employments for one *pretender* in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one nineteen would be diſobliged; but, while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deſerve: but this again was eſteemed a very ſhallow policy, which was too eaſily ſeen through, muſt ſoon come to an end, and would cauſe a general diſcontent; with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and indeed, conſidering the ſhort life of miniſters in our climate, it was with ſome reaſon thought a little hard, that thoſe for whom any employment was intended, ſhould by ſuch a delay be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a miniſtry is beſt confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its intereſt.

I have ſet this cauſe of complaint in the ſtrongeſt light, although my deſign is to endeavour that it ſhould have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adverſaries counted upon, and do ſtill expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething to this objection, which in all appearance lieth ſo hard upon the preſent miniſtry. What ſhall I offer upon ſo tender a point? How ſhall I convey an anſwer that none will apprehend, except thoſe for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great miniſters upon ſeveral accounts; but never ſo much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be anſwerable in the next world, although they dare not convince the preſent, until it is too late. This letter is ſent you, *Gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a perſon uninformed, although for the reſt as little concerned in point of intereſt for any change of miniſtry, as moſt others of

of his fellow-ſubjects. I may therefore aſſume ſo much to myſelf. as to deſire you would depend upon it, that a ſhort time will make manifeſt, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at *that door*, where your enemies would be glad to ſee you place it. The wiſeſt man, who is not very near the ſpring of affairs, but views them only in their iſſues and events, will be apt to fix applauſes and reproaches in the wrong place, which is the true cauſe of a weakneſs that I never yet knew great miniſters without; I mean their being deaf to all advice: for, if a perſon of the beſt underſtanding offers his opinion in a point, where he is not maſter of all the circumſtances, (which perhaps are not to be told), it is a hundred to one but he runs into an abſurdity; from whence it is, that miniſters falſely conclude themſelves to be equally wiſer than others in general things, where the common reaſon of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably leſs biaſſed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly purſue a point of no importance, againſt the advice of every friend he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have ſeen great abilities rendered utterly uſeleſs by unaccountable and unneceſſary delay, and by difficulty of acceſs, by which a thouſand opportunities are ſuffered to eſcape. I have obſerved the *ſtrongeſt ſhoulders* to ſink under too great a load of buſineſs, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. Theſe, and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to diſcern, as well as lament: and wherein the wiſeſt miniſter may receive advice from others of inferior underſtanding. But in thoſe actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumſtances, it is hardly poſſible that our judgment ſhould not be miſtaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a meaſure taken, which hath afterwards proved

the only one that could poſſibly have ſucceeded. Nay, I have known thoſe very men who have formerly been in the ſecret of affairs, when a new ſet of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plauſible manner upon what was paſſing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occaſions may have been given for complaints that *enough hath not been done*, thoſe complaints ſhould not be carried ſo far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at firſt was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be aſſured, that ſo much courage and addreſs were not employed in the beginning of ſo great a work without a reſolution of carrying it through, as faſt as opportunities would offer. Any of the moſt ſanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded two years ago to have been aſſured of ſeeing affairs in the preſent ſituation: It is principally to the abilities of *one great man*, that you, *Gentlemen*, owe the happineſs of meeting together to cultivate good principles, and form yourſelves into a body for defending your country againſt a reſtleſs and dangerous faction. It is to the *ſame* we all owe that mighty change in the moſt important poſts of the kingdom; that we ſee the ſacred perſon of our prince encompaſſed by thoſe whom we ourſelves would have choſen, if it had been left to our power: and if every thing beſides that you could wiſh hath not been hitherto done, you will be but juſt to impute it to ſome powerful although *unknown impediments*, wherein the miniſtry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reaſon to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that theſe impediments will in a ſhort time effectually be removed: and one great motive to haſten the removal of them will doubtleſs be the reflection upon thoſe dangerous conſequences, which had like to have enſued upon

upon not removing them before. Beſides, after ſo plain and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return than to ſerve as opportunities to the inſatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itſelf, and diſarm its oppoſers, at leaſt of all *offenſive weapons*.

Conſider, if you pleaſe, how hard beſet the preſent miniſtry hath been on every ſide; by the impoſſibility of carrying on the war any longer without taking the moſt deſperate courſes; or of recovering Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction againſt any peace without that condition, which the moſt knowing among themſelves allowed to be impracticable; by the ſecret cabals of foreign miniſters, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and ſpirit up a ſinking faction to blaſt all our endeavours for peace with thoſe popular reproaches of France and the pretender; not to mention the danger they have been in from private *inſinuations of ſuch a nature* as it was almoſt impoſſible to fence againſt. Theſe clouds now begin to blow over, and thoſe who *are at the helm* will have leiſure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which, now makes up the adverſe party, conſiſteth of an union ſo monſtrous and unnatural, that in a little time it muſt of neceſſity fall to pieces. The *Diſſenters* with reaſon think themſelves betrayed and ſold by their *brethren*. What they have been told, that the preſent *bill* againſt *occaſional conformity* was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuſe too groſs to paſs; and if any other profound refinement were meant it is now come to nothing. The remaining ſections of the party have no other tie but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour againſt thoſe in power, without agreeing in any other common intereſt, not cemented

ed by principle or perſonal friendſhip: I ſpeak particularly of their leaders; and although I know that court-enmities are as inconſtant as its friendſhips; yet from the difference of tempers and principle, as well as the ſcars remaining of former animoſities, I am perſuaded their league will not be of long continuance: I know ſeveral of them, who will never pardon thoſe with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they ſee the preſent miniſtry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold ſcent*, or playing a *deſperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other ſide, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruiſes of their fall, which pain them afreſh ſince their late *diſappointment*, they will leave no arts untried to recover themſelves; and it behoves all who have any regard for the ſafety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimouſly againſt an adverſary, who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the firſt opportunity that ſhall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, becauſe that party ſeem yet to have a reſerve of hope in the *ſame quarter from whence their laſt reinforcement came*. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs ſo much as a diſagreement among ourſelves founded upon a jealouſy of the miniſtry, who I think need no better a teſtimony of their good intentions, than the inceſſant rage of the party-leaders againſt them.

There is one fault which both ſides are apt to charge upon themſelves, and very generouſly commend their adverſaries for the contrary virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* out-did them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the *Whigs* allow the ſame to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for, doubtleſs, the *Tories* are leſs vindictive

vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *punishing*, will probably be so in *rewarding*; although at the same time I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing; but surely the case is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the administration, doth service to GOD, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But, if the *Whig* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cause* than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country party*, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for better times and worse *princes*. The Queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a side; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed by the necessities or mistakes of a late *good, although unexperienced prince*. *Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are intirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befal the nation, are what would most answer their interest

intereſt and their wiſhes; a perpetual war increaſes their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church will pleaſe the *Diſſenters*, *Deiſts*, and *Socinians*, whereof the body of their party conſiſts. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of ſome, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no diſcontents of an inferior nature, ſuch, I mean, as I have already mentioned, ſhould be carried ſo far as to give any ill impreſſion of the preſent miniſtry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, *Gentlemen*, could reaſonably wiſh, it can be imputed only to the *ſecret inſtruments* of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from ſome late incidents, more viſibly than formerly, Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a *certain perſon* be in *earneſt*, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to ſtrike directly at his head.

When it happens, by ſome private croſs intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his ſtation, he will however probably deſire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preſerve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common buſineſs of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own diſquiets. Mean time his expecting friends impute all their diſappointments to ſome deep deſign, or to his defect of goodwill; and his enemies are ſure to cry up his exceſs of power, eſpecially in thoſe points where they are confident it is moſt ſhortened. A miniſter in this difficult caſe is ſometimes forced to preſerve his credit by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of diſcovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or perhaps for fear of ſhewing an inclination contrary to that of his maſter. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of

of *delay*, *unſteadineſs*, or *want of ſincerity*. So that there are many inconveniencies and dangers either in diſcovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that miniſters may happen to ſuffer for the *ſins of their predeceſſor*, who, by their great abuſes and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the diſtribution of both. And, as in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not eaſily endure the very appearance of reſtraint, even from thoſe who have been the inſtruments of ſetting him free; ſo it is with the recovery of power, which is uſually attended with an undiſtinguiſhed jealouſy, leſt it ſhould be again invaded. In ſuch a juncture I cannot diſcover, why a wiſe and honeſt man ſhould venture to place himſelf at the head of affairs upon any other regard than the ſafety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to *prevent an ill man from coming in*.

Upon the whole, I do not ſee any one ground of ſuſpicion or diſlike, to which you, *Gentlemen*, or others, who wiſh well to their country, may have entertained about perſons or proceedings, but what may probably be miſapprehended even by thoſe who think they have the beſt information. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to ſpeak out upon this occaſion; yet whoever will reaſon impartially upon the whole ſtate of affairs, muſt entirely acquit the miniſtry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or ſuppoſe ſome ſmall part of this accuſation were true) which I poſitively know to be otherwiſe, whereof the world will ſoon be convinced), yet the conſequences of any reſentment at this time muſt either be none at all, or the moſt fatal that can be imagined; for if the preſent miniſtry be made ſo uneaſy, that a change be thought neceſſary, things will return of courſe into

into the old hands of thoſe whoſe *little fingers will be found heavier than their predeceſſors loins*. The *Whig faction* is ſo dexterous at corrupting, and the people ſo ſuſceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how eaſy it will be after ſuch a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority againſt you. They will reſume their power with a ſpirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the laſt triumvirate: and thoſe miniſters who have been moſt cenſured for too much heſitation, will fall the firſt ſacrifices to their vengeance: but theſe are the ſmalleſt miſchiefs to be apprehended from ſuch returning exiles. What ſecurity can a prince hope for his perſon, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itſelf? He muſt expect to ſee his beſt friends brought to the ſcaffold for *aſſerting his rights*; to ſee his *prerogative* trampled on, and his *treaſure* applied to *feed the avarice of thoſe who make themſelves his keepers*; to hear himſelf treated with inſolence and contempt; to have his *family purged at pleaſure* by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and ſhadow of a king no longer than his ephori ſhall think fit.

Theſe are the inevitable conſequences of ſuch a change of affairs, as that invenomed party is now projecting; which will beſt be prevented by your firmly adhering to the preſent miniſtry, until this *domeſtic enemy* is out of all poſſibility of making head any more.

A PROPOSAL for the universal use of IRISH MANUFACTURE, in *cloaths* and *furniture of houses*, &c. utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing *wearable* that comes from ENGLAND *.

Written in the year 1720.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to

* Upon Dr. Swift's arrival in Ireland, that spirit which had been raised against him by the Whigs in England, infatuated likewise the whole populace of Dublin, insomuch that when he walked through the town, he was frequently pointed at and abused by several of the meaner shopkeepers, mechanics, and other base fellows without name or occupation. These abominable wretches, like their brethren the yahoos, would often scrape the kennels with their nasty claws, to throw dirt and filth at him as he passed through the city; all which he bore for two or three years, until the brutes became tired of their scurrility, not so much with a resigned philosophical patience, as indeed with that superior contempt for all unworthy demeanor, which is only to be conceived by the most improved and exalted minds. But these animosities having subsided for two or three years, instead of rejoicing over the miseries of that people which had without cause borne a tyrannous hate against him, he began to look down with pity on their distressed condition: he regretted the calamities of his country and the absurdity of their politics; he deplored their want of commerce, and lamented all their grievances. At last, in 1720, he resolved, as far as lay in his power, to correct the errors and the blunders of his deluded countrymen; and with that view he writ short and lively *proposals for the universal use of Irish manufacture*, &c.; on account of which a prosecution was set on foot against Waters the printer of that pamphlet, which was carried on with so much violence, that one William Whitshed, then Chief Justice, thought proper, in a manner the most extraordinary, to keep the jury eleven hours, and to send them back nine times out of court until he had

to be moſt induſtrious in cultivating and ſpreading *Agriculture*, which hath been the principle care of all wiſe nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are ſo many ſtatute-laws in England, we countenance ſo well, that the landlords are every where by *penal clauſes* abſolutely prohibiting their tenants

wearied them into a ſpecial verdict. But Whitſhed, a man of low birth and narrow education, whoſe whole pittance of learning was confined within the magic circle of the laws, the doctrine of precedents, and practice of the courts, was by no means aware by what unmerciful ſtrokes a patriot and genius like Dr. Swift could avenge upon him the cauſe both of himſelf and country. Whitſhed, armed with power, and ſure to be ſupported, in the virulent days of party, againſt all thoſe who adhered to their Tory principles, firſt gave the alarm to battle by an attack upon Waters the printer. Swift, armed with genius, and fired with a zeal for liberty and public intereſt, flew directly to the charge. But finding he had to deal with an adverſary unequal to the combat, he contented himſelf for the preſent with giving him three or four laſhes, and making him thoroughly contemptible in the eyes of the world. But ſoon after Swift had further occaſion for exerting all his powers againſt the unfortunate Whitſhed. *Swift.*

This treatiſe ſpread very faſt, upon which a perſon in great office ſent in haſte for the Chief Juſtice, (Whitſhed), and informed him of a ſeditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet lately publiſhed, with a deſign of ſetting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the ſame time, that the printer ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour.—The *Chief Juſtice* had ſo quick an underſtanding, that he reſolved if poſſible to outdo his orders.—The printer was ſeized, and forced to give great bail:—the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmoſt induſtry: the *Chief Juſtice* ſent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until being tired out they were *forced* to leave the matter to the mercy of the *judge* by what they call a *ſpecial verdict*. During the trial the *Chief Juſtice*, among other ſingularities, laid his hand on his breaſt, and proteſted ſolemnly, that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cauſe being ſo very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon (the D. of G--ft-n) the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace, after mature advice and permiſſion from England, was pleaſed to grant a *Nolli proſequi*. See Swift's letter to Pope, of Jan. 10. 1721.

This piece firſt turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour.

When the author had finiſhed Gulliver's travels, he found an opening to indulge his love of politics, and to commence a patriot for Ireland: and he made uſe of the opportunity, by increaſing the natural jealouſy which the leſſer iſland conſtantly entertains of the greater.

His

tenants from ploughing *, not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the English; one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And because people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land, for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *history of the wise men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of some *wonderful* laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France hath been our only support for several years past, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market. But our merchants assure me, "this trade hath received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France: "that most of their wine is paid for in specie, "without carrying thither any commodity from "hence."

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our wool, in case Barn-

His treatise, or proposal, immediately raised a very violent flame. The printer was prosecuted: and the prosecution had the same effect which generally attends those kind of measures; it added fewel to the flame. But his greatest enemies must confess, that the pamphlet is written in the style of a man, who had the good of his country nearest his heart; who saw her errors, and wished to correct them; who felt her oppressions, and wished to relieve them; and who had a desire to rouse and awaken an indolent nation from a lethargic disposition, that might prove fatal to her constitution. *Orrery.* ------ See *An excellent new song on a seditious pamphlet.*

* It was the practice of Irish farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow; and when their leases were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that the landlords, by their zeal to prevent it, were betrayed into this pernicious measure.

ſtaple * ſhould be overſtocked, and our French commerce ſhould fail.

I could wiſh the parliament had thought fit to have ſuſpended their regulation of *church*-matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, becauſe they did not appear very preſſing, at leaſt to the perſons *principally concerned*; and, inſtead of theſe great refinements in *politics* and *divinity*, had *amuſed* themſelves and their committees a little with the *ſtate of the nation*. For example: What if the houſe of Commons had thought fit to make a reſolution, *nemine contradicente*, againſt wearing any cloth or ſtuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it ſo far as utterly to exclude all ſilks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwiſe, ſhould be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation?* What if they had ſent up ſuch a reſolution to be agreed to by the houſe of Lords; and by their own practice and encouragement ſpread the execution of it in their ſeveral counties? What if we ſhould agree to make *burying in woollen a faſhion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law?* What if the ladies ſhould be content with Iriſh ſtuffs for the furniture of their houſes, for gowns and petticoats for themſelves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the reſt, let a firm reſolution be taken by *male* and *female*, never to appear with one ſingle *ſhred* that comes from England; *and let all the people ſay*, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could pleaſe his Majeſty better than to hear, that his loyal ſubjects of both ſexes in this kingdom † celebrated his *birth-*

* A ſea-port in Devonſhire, at that time the principal market in England for Iriſh wool.

† Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Dorſet, the Lord Lieutenant's lady, is ſaid to have appeared at the *caſtle* in Dublin wholly clad in the manufacture of Ireland on his Majeſty's birthday 1753.

day,

day, (now approaching), *univerſally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to ſave them from the brink of ruin? If the men's opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handſome in ſtuffs as in brocades; and, ſince all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chuſing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late Archbiſhop of Tuam mention a pleaſant obſervation of ſome body's; "that Ireland would "never be happy until a law were made for burn-"ing every thing that came from England, except "their people and their coals." I muſt confeſs, that as to the former, I ſhould not be ſorry if they would ſtay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we ſhall have no occaſion for them.

Non tanti mitra eſt, non tanti judicis oſtrum,

but I ſhould rejoice to ſee a *ſtay-lace* from England be thought *ſcandalous*, and become a topic for *cenſure* at *viſits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking ſhopkeepers in this town had not been utterly deſtitute of common ſenſe, they would have made ſome *propoſal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpoſe I have mentioned; promiſing to improve the "cloths and ſtuffs of the "nation into all poſſible degrees of fineneſs and "colours, and engaging not to play the knave, ac-"cording to their cuſtom, by exacting and impoſ-"ing upon the nobility and gentry either as to the "prices or the goodneſs." For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the *raſcally mercers* and *woolendrapers* would in four and twenty hours raiſe their *cloths* and *ſilks* to above a double price; and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, "that "they were ready to ſtarve, and their fineries lay "upon their hands."

I could wiſh, our ſhopkeepers would immediately think on this *propoſal*, addreſſing it to all perſons of quality and others; but firſt be ſure to get ſome body who can write ſenſe to put it into form.

I think it needleſs to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; becauſe "in a little time thoſe "among them who are ſo unfortunate to have had "their birth and education in this country, will "think themſelves abundantly happy when they "can afford Iriſh crape and an Athlone hat;" and as to the others, *I ſhall not preſume* to direct them. I have indeed ſeen the preſent Archbiſhop of Dublin * clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet under the roſe be it ſpoken, "his "Grace deſerveth as good a gown, as if he had "not been born among us."

I have not courage enough to offer one ſyllable on this ſubject to *their Honours* of the army: neither have I ſufficiently conſidered the great importance of *ſcarlet and gold lace*.

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpoſe. The goddeſs had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for *ſpinning* and *weaving*: they both met upon a trial of ſkill; and Pallas finding herſelf almoſt equalled in her own art, ſtung with rage and envy, knocked her *rival* down, and turned her into a ſpider; injoining her to *ſpin and weave* for ever *out of her own bowels*, and *in a very narrow compaſs*. I confeſs, that from a boy I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddeſs on account of "ſo cruel and unjuſt a ſentence;" which however is *fully executed* upon *us* by England with further additions of *rigour* and *ſeverity*, for the greateſt part of our *bowels* and *vitals* is extracted with-

* Dr. King.

out

out allowing us † the liberty of *ſpining* and *weaving* them.

The ſcripture tells us, that "oppreſſion maketh "a wiſe man mad;" therefore, conſequently ſpeaking, the reaſon why ſome men are not *mad*, is becauſe they are not *wiſe*: however, it were to be wiſhed, that *oppreſſion* would in time teach a little *wiſdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a perſon, who hath a great eſtate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, "how grievouſly *poor England* ſuffers by "impoſitions from Ireland: *that we* convey our "own wool to France in ſpite of all the *harpies* at "the cuſtomhouſe: that Mr. *Shuttleworth*, and "others on the Cheſhire coaſts, are ſuch fools to "ſell us their *bark* at a good price for tanning *our* "*own hides* into leather: with other enormities of "the like weight and kind." To which I will venture to add more: "That the *mayoralty* of this "city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by "a deputy with a moderate ſalary, whereby *poor* "*England* loſeth at leaſt one thouſand pounds a-"year upon the balance: that the *governing* of this "kingdom coſts the Lord Lieutenant three thou-"ſand ſix hundred pounds a-year; ſo much net "loſs to *poor England*: that the people of Ireland "preſume to dig for coals *in their own grounds*; "and the *farmers* in the county of Wicklow ſend "their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the "great diſcouragement of the coal-trade of Moſ-"tyn and Whitehaven *: that the revenues of the

† In the ſpring 1753, the parliament of England paſſed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any port in Ireland to any port in England; which was before prohibited. And

In the winter 1753, the Iriſh parliament prohibited the importation of gold and ſilver lace, except *of the manufacture of* England.

* Moſtyn in Flintſhire and Whitehaven in Cumberland.

"*poſt-*

" *poſt office* here, ſo righteouſly belonging to the " Engliſh treaſury, as ariſing chiefly from our own " commerce with each other, ſhould be remitted " to London, clogged with that grievous burthen " of exchange; and the penſions paid out of the " Iriſh revenues to *Engliſh favourites* ſhould lie un- " der the ſame diſadvantage, to the great loſs of " the grantees. When a divine is ſent over to a " *biſhopric* here, with the hopes of five and twenty " hundred pounds a-year; and upon his arival he " finds, alas! a dreadful diſcount of ten or twelve " *per cent.* a *judge*, or a *commiſſioner* of the revenue " has the ſame cauſe of complaint. *Laſtly*, The " ballad upon Cotter is vehemently ſuſpected to be " Iriſh manufacture; and yet is allowed to be ſung " in our open ſtreets, under the very *noſe of the go-* " *vernment*."

Theſe are a *few*, among the many hardſhips we put upon that poor kingdom of England: for which I am confident, every *honeſt* man wiſheth a *remedy*: and I hear, there is a project *on foot* for tranſporting our beſt wheaten *ſtraw* by ſea and land-carriage to Dunſtable; and *obliging us by a law* to take off yearly ſo many *tun of ſtraw hats* for the uſe of our women; which will be a *great encouragement* to the manufacture of that induſtrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law *to bind men without their own conſent* be obligatory *in foro conſcientiæ*; becauſe I find, Scripture, Saunderſon, and Suarez, are wholly ſilent on the matter. The oracle of *reaſon*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion of *civilians*, wherever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed deciſive enough.

It is wonderful to obſerve the bias among our people in favour of *things*, *perſons*, and *wares* of all kinds, that come from England. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new ſong juſt brought from* London. I have ſomewhat of

of a tendency that way myſelf; and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence diſplaying himſelf with great volubility upon the *park*, *the playhouſe*, *the opera*, *the gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accompliſhments. It is not many years ſince I remember a *perſon*, who by his ſtile and literature ſeems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-preſs in ſome *blind-alley* about Little Britain, proceed *gradually* to be an *author*, at leaſt a * *tranſlator* of a lower rate, although ſomewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now *flouriſhes* in Grubſtreet; and upon the ſtrength of this foundation come over here, *erect* himſelf up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This I am told, was the *very motive* that prevailed on the † *author* of a play called, *Love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *honour* of a viſit; preſuming, with very good reaſon, *that he was a writer of a ſuperior claſs*. I know *another*, who for thirty years paſt hath been the *common ſtandard of ſtupity in* England, where he was never heard a minute in any *aſſembly*, or by any *party*, with *common Chriſtian treatment*; yet, upon his arrival hither, could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than ſix, without either *gracefulneſs*, *propriety*, or *meaning*; and at the ſame time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence* and *wiſdom*.

Nothing hath humbled me ſo much, or ſhewn a greater diſpoſition to a *contemptuous* treatment of Ireland in ſome chief *governors*, than that high ſtile of ſeveral ſpeeches from the *throne*, delivered as uſual after the *royal aſſent* in *ſome periods* of the two laſt *reigns*. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condeſcenſions* in the prince to paſs *thoſe good*

* Suppoſed to be Cæſar's Commentaries, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, by Col. Bladen.

† Lord Grimſton.

laws

laws, would have but an odd ſound at Weſtminſter; neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can paſs, wherein the *King's* intereſt is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a ſpeech on the like occaſion, delivered by my Lord Wharton *, (I think it was his laſt), he deſired Mr. Addiſon *to aſk my opinion on it*. My anſwer was, "That his Excellency had very honeſtly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph; "wherein he aſſerted, by plain conſequence, a "diſpenſing power in the Queen." His Lordſhip owned *it was true*, but *ſwore* the words were *put into his mouth* by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that ſome *miniſters* in thoſe times were apt, from their *high* elevation to look *down* upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their *colonies of outcaſts in* America. And I obſerved a little of the ſame turn of ſpirit in *ſome great men*, from whom I expected better; although, to do them juſtice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them correct their *idea*, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit.———But that is *forgotten*. How the ſtile hath ſince run, I am wholly a ſtranger; having never ſeen a ſpeech ſince the laſt of the Queen.

I would now expoſtulate a little with our country-landlords; who, by unmeaſurable *ſcrewing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miſerable *people* to a worſe *condition* than the peaſants in France, or the vaſſals in Germany and Poland; ſo that the whole ſpecies of what we call *ſubſtantial farmers*, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleaſant to obſerve theſe gentlemen labouring with all their might for preventing the *biſhops* from letting their

* Lord Lieutenant.

revenues

revenues at a moderate half value, (whereby * the whole *order* would, in an age, have been reduced to manifeſt beggary), at the very inſtant, when they were every where canting † their own land upon ſhort leaſes, and ſacrificing their *oldeſt tenants for a penny an acre advance*. I know not how it comes to paſs, (and yet perhaps I know well enough), that *ſlaves* have a natural diſpoſition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *betters* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with ſix upon my *footman*, altho' perhaps he may be an honeſt and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm, that "nothing is ſo likely "to call down an univerſal judgment from heaven "upon a nation, as univerſal oppreſſion;" and whether this be not already verified in part, *their Worſhips* the landlords are *now* at full leiſure to conſider. Whoever travels this country, and obſerves the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himſelf in a land, where *law*, *religion*, or *common humanity* is profeſſed.

I cannot forbear ſaying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town ‡. I never ſaw the propoſals, nor underſtand any one particular of their ſcheme: what I wiſh for at preſent, is only a ſufficient proviſion of *hemp*, and *caps*, and *bells*, to diſtribute according to the ſeveral degrees of *honeſty* and *prudence* in *ſome perſons*. I *hear* only of a monſtrous ſum already named; and if OTHERS do not ſoon hear of

* Whereby, that is, by preventing the biſhops revenues from being let at half value. See this poſition explained and proved in the tract called *Arguments againſt enlarging the power of biſhops*.

† *Canting* their land is letting it to the higheſt bidder.——*Cant* ſignifies the ſame as auction.

‡ This project for a bank in Ireland was ſoon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected.

it

it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of leſs ſagacity than myſelf and a very few beſides take me to be. And the jeſt will be ſtill the better, if it be true, as judicious perſons have aſſured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewiſe much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldſmiths to melt down our heavy ſilver.

A LET-

A LETTER to the *Shopkeepers*, *Tradesmen*, *Farmers*, and *Common People of* IRELAND, concerning the *Brass Halfpence* coined by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hardwareman, with a design to have them pass in this kingdom.

Wherein is shewn the power of his *patent*, the value of his *halfpence*, and how far every person may be obliged to take the same in payments, and how to behave himself in case such an attempt should be made by Wood, or any other person.

(Very proper to be kept in every family.)

By M. B. DRAPIER *.

Written in the Year 1724.

LETTER

* About the year 1722, when Charles Duke of Grafton was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood an hardwareman and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper-money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000 l. to pass there as current-money. The Dean believing this measure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be sharers in the profits which would arise from the ruin of a kingdom, assumed the character of a *Draper* which for some reason he chose to write *Drapier*, and in the following letters warned the people not to receive the coin which was then sent over.

Dr. Swift having retired from the political world, and amused himself for 3 or 4 years with poetry, conversation, and trifles, (which is perhaps the finest test of a thorough consummate genius, that is above all particular systems and hypocritical pretences to philosophy),

LETTER I*.

To the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and Country-people in general of the kingdom of Ireland.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-subjects,

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your duty to God and the care of your salvation,

being alarmed in 1724 with fresh matter of indignation to resume his pen, boldly withstood the whole force of an infamous projector, encouraged and supported in his villany by those who were understood to be the chief directors in all public affairs. The project of this impudent fellow was, by virtue of a patent which he had fraudulently obtained by the interest of the then favourite Chrysels, to coin halfpence for Ireland at about eleven parts in twelve under the real value, and force their currency in that kingdom; which, notwithstanding his patent, supposing that he had made his halfpence ever so good, no man living was obliged, or, by virtue of the prerogative of the crown, could be obliged to receive in any payment whatever: nothing being in truth the current coin of England or Ireland, beside gold and silver of the right sterling standard; the baser metals being only accepted for the conveniency of change, which every man that pleases may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any penalty from the law. This whole matter the Doctor laid open in a short treatise, the Drapier's first letter.

The judicious reader cannot but observe, that in this letter the author hath adapted his stile, his phrases, his humour, and his address in a very wonderful manner to the taste and apprehension of the populace. Neither indeed is the title-page wholly void of that captivating rhetoric which is admired by the common people; for it concludes like that of the whole duty of man, *Very proper to be kept in every family.* Swift.

* The first five of the Drapier's letters were published in pamphlets at different times. The sixth and seventh were first published in 1735, in the 4th volume of the Dublin edition of Dr. Swift's works.

The

ſalvation, of the greateſt concern to yourſelves and your children; your *bread* and *cloathing*, and every common neceſſary of life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do moſt earneſtly exhort you as *men*, as *Chriſtians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmoſt attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the leſs expenſe, I have ordered the printer to ſell it at the loweſt rate.

The ſixth and ſeventh of the Drapier's letters were procured from a friend of the author's in the original manuſcript, as we are aſſured, and have good reaſon to believe: thoſe who are better judges, will ſoon determine whether they are genuine or not. It is the opinion of ſeveral wiſe men, that the Drapier's letters, and the other writings relating to our poor country [Ireland], may be very uſeful to poſterity, by warning them for the future to oppoſe the ſame, or the like evil deſigns, however plauſible they may at firſt appear to unthinking people; or however artfully they may be repreſented (like this deſtructive project of William Wood) by thoſe who are to divide the ſpoil with that impoſtor; or, laſtly, by proſtitute flatterers who are ſure to find their private account in the ruin of the kingdom; which ruin would have certainly followed, if the author, whoever he was, had not publiſhed his letters in the moſt proper juncture, and fitted to all ſorts of readers; whereby in two or three months he turned the whole nation, almoſt to a man, againſt that iniquitous ſcheme. — The letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton is written with much caution, becauſe the author confeſſes himſelf to be Dean of St. Patrick's; and I could diſcover his name ſubſcribed at the end of the original, although blotted out by ſome other hand. I can give no other reaſon why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had ſucceeded, and at the ſame time how highly the people in power ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his cabinet. —— There is but a ſmall part of the addreſs to both houſes of parliament that relateth to Wood and his coin. The reſt contains ſeveral propoſals for the improvement of Ireland, the many diſcouragements it lies under and what are the beſt remedies againſt them. ——— By many paſſages in the other letters, but particularly in the *addreſs*, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland, by abſentees, importation of foreign goods, balance of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains, and been well informed in the buſineſs of computing; all his reaſonings upon that ſubject, although he does not deſcend to particular ſums, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others, who have ſince made that inquiry their particular ſtudy. And it is obſervable, that in the *addreſs*, as well as in one of the other letters, he hath ſpecified ſeveral important articles, that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him. *Dub. edit.*

It is a great fault among you, that, when a person writes with no other intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.* One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written to advise all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear country* *. It had no other design, said nothing against the *King or parliament*, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor printer was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some *weavers* themselves, (for whose sake it was written), being upon the JURY, *found him guilty.* This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and when he must expect only *danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain story of the fact*: and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country.*

The *fact* is this: It having been many years since COPPER HALFPENCE OR FARTHINGS were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many *counterfeits* passed about under the name of *raps*: several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but

* A proposal for the use of Irish manufactures.

they

they did not succeed. At last one Mr. WOOD, *a mean ordinary man, a hardware dealer,* procured a *patent* under his *Majesty's broad seal* to coin 108,000 l. in *copper* for this *kingdom*; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now, you must know, that the *halfpence* and *farthings* in England pass for very little more than they are worth: and, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *brazier*, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his *halfpence* of such *base metal*, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a *shilling* of his; so that this sum of 108,000 l. in good gold and silver must be given for *trash*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thousand pounds* real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another 108,000 l. and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *hatter* sells a dozen of *hats* for *five shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of *five shillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how such an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr. Wood, could have so much interest as to get his *Majesty's* broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own *halfpence*, as we used to do. Now, I will make that matter very plain: We are at a great distance from the King's *court*, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *'squires*, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest; he is an Englishman,

and had great friends, and it ſeems knew very well *where to give money* to thoſe that would ſpeak to others, that could ſpeak to the *King*, and would tell a *fair ſtory*. And *his Majeſty*, and perhaps the great lord or lords who adviſed him, might think it was for our *country's good*; and ſo as the lawyers expreſs it, the *King* was deceived in this grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am ſure if *his Majeſty* knew that ſuch a patent, if it ſhould take effect according to the deſire of Mr. Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given ſuch great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps ſhew his diſpleaſure to *ſome body* or *other*: but a *word to the wiſe is enough*. Moſt of you muſt have heard with what anger our *honourable houſe of Commons* received an account of this Wood's patent. There were ſeveral *fine ſpeeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top*; and ſeveral ſmart votes were printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in *print*, and in ſo confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This Wood, as ſoon as his *patent* was paſſed, or ſoon after, ſends over a great many *barrels of thoſe halfpence* to Cork, and other ſea-port *towns*, and to get them off offered an *hundred* pounds in his coin for *ſeventy* or *eighty* in ſilver: but the *collectors* of the *King*'s cuſtoms very honeſtly refuſed to take them, and ſo did almoſt every body elſe. And ſince the parliament hath condemned them, and deſired the *King* that they might be ſtopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But Wood is ſtill working underhand to force his *halfpence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail ſo far as to get an order, that the *commiſſioners* and *collectors* of the *King*'s money ſhall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* ſhall

ſhall be done. And this is the difficulty you will be under in ſuch a caſe: for the common ſoldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *alehouſe*, will offer this money; and, if it be refuſed, perhaps he will *ſwagger* and *hector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *alewife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *halfpence*. In this, and the like caſes, the *ſhopkeeper*, or *victualler*, or any other *tradeſman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money: for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and ſo in all things elſe, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For ſuppoſe you go to an *alehouſe* with that baſe money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of thoſe *halfpence*, what muſt the *victualler* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* ſhould be ſuch a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their *bere* *, becauſe they are bound by their leaſes, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the *'ſquire*, their landlord, will never be ſo bewitched to take ſuch *traſh* for his land; ſo that it muſt certainly ſtop ſomewhere or other, and where-ever it ſtops, it is the ſame thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of thoſe *halfpence* is between four and five to an ounce; ſuppoſe five, then three ſhillings and fourpence will weigh a pound, and conſequently twenty ſhillings will weigh ſix pounds *butter weight*. Now, there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a-year rent; therefore when one of theſe *farmers* comes with his half-year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at leaſt ſix hundred pound weight, which is three horſes load.

* A ſort of barley in Ireland.

If

If a *'squire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and spices for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses loaden with *sacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr. Wood's money. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say 'Squire Conolly † hath *sixteen* thousand pounds a-year; now, if he sends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty *horses* to bring up his half-year's rent, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am assured, that some great *bankers* keep by them forty thousand pounds ready cash to answer all payments: which sum, in Mr. Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it.

For my own part, I am already resolved what to do: I have a pretty good shop of Irish stuffs and *silks*, and, instead of taking Mr. Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers*, and *bakers*, and *brewers*, and the rest, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *silver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. Wood's money, as my father did the brass-money in King James's time, who would buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *pistole*, and so purchase *bread* from those who will be such fools as to sell it me.

These *halfpence*, if they once pass, will soon be *counterfeited*, because it may be cheaply done, the *stuff* is so *base*. The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to

† Then Speaker of the House of Commons.

pay

pay for our *goods*; and Mr. Wood will never be at reſt, but coin on; ſo that in ſome years we ſhall have at leaſt five times 108,000 l. of this *lumber*. Now, the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thouſand pounds in all; and while there is a *ſilver* ſixpence left, theſe *bloodſuckers* will never be quiet.

When once the kingdom is reduced to ſuch a condition, I will tell you what muſt be the end: the *gentlemen of eſtates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments; becauſe, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leaſes to pay *Sterling*, which is lawful current money of England: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run *all* into ſheep, where they can, keeping only ſuch other cattle as are neceſſary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and ſend their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen*, beyond ſea for ready *money*, and *wine*, and *ſpices*, and *ſilks*. They will keep only a few miſerable *cottagers*; the *farmers* muſt *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *ſhopkeepers* in this and every other town muſt *break* and *ſtarve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *ſhopkeeper*, and *handicraftſman*.

But when the *'ſquire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himſelf, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to ſend for England, and keep ſome poor *tailor* or *weaver* and the like in his own houſe, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I ſhould never have done, if I were to tell you all the miſeries that we ſhall undergo, if we be ſo *fool-ſh* and *wicked* as to take this curſed coin. It would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould be put into one *ſcale*, and this ſorrow fellow Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood ſhould weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*,

kets; and that is more than the Engliſh do by *all the world* beſides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his Majeſty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, ſo the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *ſubject* to take what *money* the *King* pleaſes; for then, by the ſame reaſon, we might be bound to take *pebble-ſtones*, or *cockle-ſhells*, or *ſtamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we ſhould happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might likewiſe, by the ſame power, make a *guinea* paſs for *ten pounds*, a *ſhilling* for *twenty ſhillings*, and ſo on; by which he would, in a ſhort time, get all the ſilver and gold of the kingdom into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *braſs* or *leather*, or what he pleaſed. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppreſſive* in the French government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have ſunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thouſandth part ſo wicked as this *abominable project* of Mr. Wood. For the French give their ſubjects *ſilver* for *ſilver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this *fellow* will not ſo much as give us good *braſs* or *copper* for our *gold* and *ſilver*, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having ſaid thus much, I will now go on to tell you the judgement of ſome great lawyers in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpoſe for your ſakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be ſure I went upon good grounds.

"A famous *law-book*, called the *Mirrour of juſ-*
"*tice*, diſcourſing of the charters (or laws) or-
"dained by our ancient *kings*, declares the law to
"be as follows. It was ordained, That no *king*
"of this realm ſhould change or impair the *money*,
"or make any other *money* than of *gold* or *ſilver*,
"without the aſſent of all the counties; that is, as

"*my*

" *my Lord Coke* * says, without the assent of parlia-
" ment."

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer *my Lord Coke* †. By the laws of England several metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *false metal*; the former comprehends *silver* or *gold*, the later all *baser metals*. That the former is only to pass in payments, appears by an act of parliament ‡ made the twentieth year of Edward *the First*, called, *The statute concerning the passing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into English; for some of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written in Latin:
" Whoever in buying or selling presumes to refuse
" an halfpenny or farthing of lawful money, bear-
" ing the stamp which it ought to have, let him be
" seized on as a contemner of the King's Majesty,
" and cast into prison."

By this *statute*, no person is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *King's Majesty*, and for that crime to be committed *to prison*, but he who refuseth to accept the King's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I observed before, *silver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true construction of the act, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my Lord Coke's ‖ observation upon it. By this act (says he) it appears, that no subject can be forced to take in *buying*, or *selling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *silver* or *gold*.

The law of England gives the King all mines of *gold* and *silver*; but not the mines of other metals;

* 1 Inst. 576.
† 2 Inst. 576, 7.
‡ 2 Inst. 577.
‖ 2 Inst. 577.

the

the reaſon of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my Lord Coke *, is becauſe money can be made of *gold* and *ſilver*, but not of other *metals*.

Purſuant to this opinion, *halfpence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *ſilver*, which is evident from the act of parliament of Henry the Fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: "Item, "for the great ſcarcity that is at preſent within the "realm of *England* of halfpence and farthings of "*ſilver*, it is ordained and eſtabliſhed, that the "third part of all the *money* of *ſilver-plate* which "ſhall be brought to the *bullion*, ſhall be made in- "to *halfpence* and *farthings*." This ſhews, that by the words *halfpenny* and *farthings* of lawful money in that *ſtatute* concerning the paſſing of pence, is meant a ſmall coin in *halfpence* and *farthings* of *ſilver*.

This is further manifeſt from the ſtatute of the ninth year of Edward the Third, chap. 3. which enacts, "That no Sterling *halfpenny* or *farthing* be "molten for to make veſſels, or any other thing by "the *goldſmiths*, nor others, upon the forfeiture "of the money ſo molten (or melted)."

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in England. And by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley-halfpence* were not to paſs: what kind of coin theſe were, I do not know; but I preſume they were made of *baſe metal*. And theſe acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* ſtands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's *reports*, who tells us, that, in the time of Tyrone's rebellion, Queen Eliſabeth ordered *money* of *mixed metal* to be coined in the Tower of Lon-

* 2 Inſt. 577.

don,

don, and ſent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all ſilver money ſhould be taken only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weighed. Davis tells us ſeveral particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a merchant in England to receive this *mixed money* for goods tranſmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the beſt lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no ſuch legal power. And, beſides, it is to be conſidered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom* aſſiſted from Spain; and whatever is done in great exigencies and dangerous times, ſhould never be an example to proceed by in ſeaſons of *peace* and *quietneſs*.

I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the trouble, ſet before you in ſhort, what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *ſilver*.

Secondly, You are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *ſilver*; not only the *halfpence* or *farthings* of England, but of any other country. And it is merly for convenience, or eaſe, that you are content to take them; becauſe the cuſtom of coining ſilver *halfpence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I ſuppoſe on account of their being ſubject to be loſt.

Thirdly, Much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe *vile halfpence* of that fame Wood, by which you muſt loſe almoſt eleven pence in every ſhilling.

Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: refuſe this filthy traſh. It is no treaſon to rebel a-

gainſt Mr. Wood. His *Majeſty*, in his patent, obliges no body to take theſe halfpence: our gracious prince hath no ſuch ill adviſers about him; or, if he had, yet you ſee, the laws have not left it in the *King's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right ſtandard, *gold* and *ſilver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me, in the next place, apply myſelf particularly to you, who are the poorer ſort of *tradeſmen*. Perhaps you may think, you will not be ſo great loſers as the rich, if theſe *halfpence* ſhould paſs; becauſe you ſeldom ſee any *ſilver*, and your cuſtomers come to your ſhops or ſtalls with nothing but *braſs*, which you likewiſe find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry theſe halfpence to a ſhop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the ſhopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or elſe he muſt break, and leave *the key under the door*. "Do you think I will ſell you a "yard of tenpenny ſtuff for *twenty* of Mr. Wood's "*halfpence?* No, not under *two hundred* at leaſt; "neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but "weigh them in a lump." I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. Wood's project ſhould take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a begar a halfpenny, it will quench his thirſt, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a halfpenny will do him no more ſervice, than if I ſhould give him three pins out of my ſleeve.

In ſhort theſe halfpence are like the *accurſed thing*, which, as the *ſcripture* tells us, the children of Iſrael were forbidden to touch. They will run about "like the plague, and deſtroy every one who "lays his hands upon them." I have heard *ſcholars* talk of a man who told the King, that he had invented a way to torment people, by putting them into

into a *bull of braſs* with fire under it: but the *prince* put the *projector* firſt into his *brazen bull* to make the experiment. This very much reſembles the project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may poſſibly be Mr. Wood's fate; that the *braſs* he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his deſtruction at laſt.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by perſons who have made it their buſineſs to be exact in their obſervations on the true value of theſe halfpence, that any perſon may expect to get a quart of *twopenny ale* for *thirty-ſix* of them.

I deſire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them to refreſh their memories, whenever they ſhall have farther notice of Mr. Wood's halfpence, or any other the like impoſture *.

* At the ſound of the *Drapier's* trumpet, a ſpirit aroſe among the people, that, in the eaſtern phraſe, was *like unto a tempeſt in the day of the whirlwind.* Every perſon of every rank, party, and denomination, was convinced, that the admiſſion of Wood's copper muſt prove fatal to the commonwealth. The Papiſt, the Fanatic, the Tory, the Whig, all liſted themſelves voluntiers under the banner of *M. B. Drapier*, and were all equally zealous to ſerve the common cauſe. Much heat, and many fiery ſpeeches againſt the adminiſtration, were the conſequence of this union: nor had the flames been allayed, notwithſtanding threats and proclamations, had not the coin been totally ſuppreſſed, and had not Wood withdrawn his patent. *Orrery.* See the note at the end of letter 5.

LETTER II.

A LETTER to Mr. HARDING the printer, upon occaſion of a paragraph in his news-paper of Auguſt 1. 1724, relating to Mr. WOOD's *Halfpence*.

IN your news-letter of the 1ſt inſtant there is a paragraph, dated from London, July 25. relating to Wood's halfpence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the ſhopkeepers, &c.* that this vile fellow would never be at reſt; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new* and *freſh warning*. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great meaſure, an impoſition upon the public; at leaſt I hope ſo, becauſe I am informed that Wood is generally his own news-writer. I cannot but obſerve from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not ſatisfied to ruin us with his *traſh*, takes every occaſion to treat this kingdom with the utmoſt contempt. He repreſents "ſeve-"ral of our merchants and traders upon examina-"tion before a committee of council, agreeing, "that there was the utmoſt neceſſity of copper-"money here, before his patent; ſo that ſeveral "gentlemen have been forced to tally with their "workmen, and give them bits of cards ſealed "and ſubſcribed with their names." What then? If a phyſician preſcribe to a patient a *dram* of phyſic, ſhall a raſcal apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poiſon?* and is not a landlord's hand and ſeal to his own labourers a better ſecurity for five or ten ſhillings, than Wood's braſs, ten times below

low the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thouſand pounds?

But who are theſe *merchants and traders of* Ireland that made this report of "the utmoſt neceſſity we "are under for copper-money?" They are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are to purchaſe a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the public, and their own private advantages. Are not theſe excellent witneſſes, upon whoſe integrity the fate of the kingdom muſt depend, evidences in their own cauſe, and ſharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deſerved the liberty of coining for ourſelves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, *is every body's wonder as well as mine*, ten thouſand pounds might have been coined here in Dublin of only one fifth below the intrinſic value, and this ſum, with the ſtock of halfpence we then had, would have been ſufficient; but Wood, by his emiſſaries, enemies to GOD and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old halfpence as he could; and from thence the preſent want of change ariſes; to remove which, by Mr. Wood's remedy, would be to cure a ſcratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But ſuppoſing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thouſand pounds would be a ſum fully ſufficient to anſwer all our occaſions. I am no inconſiderable ſhopkeeper in this town; I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of my own, and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and alſo with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two ſhillings in change for every family would be more than neceſſary in all dealings. Now, by the largeſt computation (even before that grievous

diſcouragement of *agriculture* *, which hath ſo much leſſened our numbers) the ſouls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half: which, allowing ſix to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thouſand families, and conſequently two ſhillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thouſand pounds; whereas this *honeſt, liberal, hardwareman*, Wood, would impoſe upon us above *four times* that ſum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir Iſaac Newton reported an *aſſay* taken at the Tower of Wood's metal; by which it appears, that Wood had *in all reſpects performed his contract*. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to be the purchaſers? but they deteſt, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and traſh. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impoſe his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter ſays, that an *aſſay* was made of the coin. How impudent and inſupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, ſends them to the Tower, and they are approved, and theſe muſt anſwer all that he hath already coined, or ſhall coin for the future. It is true indeed, that a gentleman often ſends to my ſhop for a pattern of ſtuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or ſends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred ſheep, and the grazier ſhould bring me one ſingle wether, fat and well fleeced, by way of *pattern*, and expect the ſame price round for the whole hundred, without ſuffering me to ſee them before he was paid, or giving me good ſecurity to reſtore my money for what were *lean*, or *ſhorn*, or *ſcabby*, I would be none of his cuſtomer. I have

* Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing.

heard

heard of a man who had a mind to ſell his houſe, and therefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which he ſhewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchaſers; and this is directly the caſe in point with Mr. Wood's *aſſay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr. Wood's voluntary propoſals for *preventing any further objections or apprehenſions*.

His firſt propoſal is, "That whereas he hath "already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and "has copper prepared to make it up forty thou- "ſand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, "unleſs the EXIGENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE "IT, although his patent impowers him to coin "a far greater quantity."

To which if I were to anſwer, it ſhould be thus: Let Mr. Wood and his crew of *founders* and *tinkers* coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the ſtreet, and call their trumpery by what name they pleaſe, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themſelves. But I hope, and truſt, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The King has given him a patent to coin halfpence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already ſhewn in my *letter to the ſhopkeepers, &c.* that the law hath not left left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the ſubject to take any money, beſides gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard.

Wood further propoſes, (if I underſtand him right, for his expreſſions are dubious), that "he "will not coin above forty thouſand pounds, un- "leſs the exigencies of trade require it." Firſt, I obſerve that this ſum of *forty thouſand pounds* is almoſt double to what I proved to be ſufficient for the whole

whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I aſk, who is to be judge when the "exigencies of trade require it?" Without doubt he means *himſelf*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who muſt be utterly ruined if this project ſhould ſucceed, we were never *once* conſulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigencies* by his own; neither will theſe be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices ſhall think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and ſilver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the ſame coin.

I ſhall not enter into examination of the prices for which he now propoſes to ſell his halfpence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that by his own firſt computation we were to pay three ſhillings for what was intrinſically worth but one, altho' it had been of the true weight and ſtandard for which he pretended to have contracted! but there is ſo great a difference both in weight and badneſs in ſeveral of his coins, that ſome of them have been nine in ten below the intrinſic value, and moſt of them ſix or ſeven.

His laſt propoſal being of a peculiar ſtrain and nature, deſerves to be very particularly conſidered, both on account of the matter and the ſtyle. It is as follows.

"Laſtly, In conſideration of the direful apprehenſions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will by ſuch coinage drain them of their gold and ſilver; he propoſes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no perſon be obliged to receive more than five pence halfpenny at one payment."

Firſt,

Firſt, Obſerve this little impudent *hardwareman* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehenſions of a whole kingdom*, priding himſelf as the cauſe of them, and daring to preſcribe (what no king of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation ſhall be obliged to take his braſs coin. And he has reaſon to inſult: for ſure there never was an example in hiſtory of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter deſtruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thouſand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt adminiſtration, but by one ſingle, diminutive, inſignificant mechanic.

But to go on: To remove our *direful apprehenſions, that he will drain us of our gold and ſilver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary *mock-monarch* moſt graciouſly offers to take *our manufactures in exchange*. Are our Iriſh underſtandings indeed ſo low in his opinion? Is not this the very miſery we complain of, that his curſed project will put us under the neceſſity of ſelling our goods for what is equal to nothing? How would ſuch a propoſal ſound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they ſhould offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we ſhould take their money at ten times higher than the intrinſic value? Does Mr. Wood think, for inſtance, that we will ſell him a ſtone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth ſixpence, when we can ſend it to England, and receive as many ſhillings in *gold* and *ſilver?* Surely there was never heard ſuch a compound of impudence, villainy, and folly.

His propoſals conclude with perfect *high-treaſon*. He promiſes, that *no perſon ſhall be* obliged *to receive more than five pence halfpenny of his coin in one payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to oblige every ſubject in this kingdom to take ſo much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his patent

patent obliges no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim ſuch a power, as I have often obſerved; ſo that here Mr. Wood takes upon him the *entire legiſlature*, and an abſolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are are this wretch's *adviſers?* who are his *ſupporters*, *abettors*, *encouragers*, or *ſharers?* Mr. Wood will oblige me to take five pence halfpenny of his braſs in every payment. And I will ſhoot Mr. Wood and his deputies through the head like *highwaymen* or *houſe-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loſs of honour to ſubmit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat?* He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of ſeventeen ſhillings at leaſt in the pound: a tax, I ſay, not only upon lands, but intereſt-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftſmen, labourers, and ſervants. Shopkeepers, look to yourſelves! Wood will oblige and force you to take five pence halfpenny of his traſh in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or elſe you can hardly find bread: and pray conſider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five pence halfpenny is nine ſhillings and two pence, which is above a hundred and ſixty pounds a-year, wherein you will be loſers of at leaſt one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. Wood on ſuch conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money periſh with him.* If the famous Mr. Hambden rather choſe to go to priſon, than pay a few ſhillings to King Charles I. without authority of parliament; I will rather chuſe to be *hanged* than have all my ſubſtance taxed at ſeventeen ſhillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleaſure of the venerable Mr. Wood.

The

The paragraph concludes thus: "N. B. (*that is "to say*, nota bene, *or* mark well). No evidence ap- "peared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the "mischiefs complained of, or any abuses whatsoe- "ver committed in the execution of the said "grant."

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. First, the house of Commons in Ireland, which represents the whole people of the kingdom; and secondly, the privy council addressed his Majesty against these halfpence: what could be done more to express the universal sense of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a committee of the whole House of Commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr. Wood? To what end did the King give his patent for coining halfpence in Ireland? Was it not, because it was represented to his Sacred Majesty, that such a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his subjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his representation be false, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think, that this patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or four score thousand pounds to himself? Before he was at the charge of passing a patent, much more of raking up so much filthy dross, and stamping it with his Majesty's *image and superscription*, should he not first in common sense, in common equity, and common manners, have consulted the principal party concerned; that is to say, the people of the kingdom, the House of Lords, or Commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner should ask us, *whose image and subscription there is on* Wood's coin? we should be ashamed to tell him, it was Cæsar's. In that great want of copper halfpence, which

which he alledges we were, our city ſet up *our* Cæſar's * ſtatue in excellent copper, at an expenſe that is equal in value to thirty thouſand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worſe metal.

I obſerve many of our people putting a melancholly caſe on this ſubject. It is true, ſay they, we are all undone if Wood's halfpence muſt paſs: but what ſhall we do if his Majeſty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often dinned in my ears. But I deſire my countrymen to be aſſured that there is nothing in it. The king never iſſues out a proclamation but to injoin what the law permits him. He will not iſſue out a proclamation againſt *law*; or if ſuch a thing ſhould happen by a miſtake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Beſides, his Majeſty will never command us by a proclamation, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itſelf. There he leaves it to our diſcretion; ſo that our deſtruction muſt be entirely owing to ourſelves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a proclamation, which will never be granted; and if it ſhould, yet upon this occaſion will be of no force. The King's revenues here are near four hundred thouſand pounds a-year. Can you think his miniſters will adviſe him to take them in Wood's braſs, which will reduce the value to fifty thouſand pounds? England gets a million *Sterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almoſt reduced to nothing: and do you think thoſe who live in England upon Iriſh eſtates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in Wood's droſs?

If Wood and his *confederates* were not convinced of our ſtupidity, they never would have attempted ſo audacious an enterpriſe. He now ſees

* An equeſtrian ſtatue of George I. at Eſſex-bridge, Dublin.

a ſpirit hath been raiſed againſt him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we ſhall be weary of contending with him; and at laſt out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with oppoſition, we ſhall be forced to yield: and therefore, I confeſs, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your ſpirits and reſentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, muſt I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts waxed groſs?* are *their ears dull of hearing?* and have *they cloſed their eyes?* I fear there are ſome few vipers among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would ſell their ſouls and their country; although at laſt it ſhould end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

Although my letter may be directed to you, Mr. Harding, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no intereſt in this affair, but what is common to the public. I can live bettter than many others: I have ſome gold and ſilver by me, and a ſhop well furniſhed; and I ſhall be able to make a ſhift, when many of my betters are ſtarving. But I am grieved to ſee the coldneſs and indifference of many people, with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a proclamation: others ſhrug up their ſhoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all; others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they ſhall fare no worſe than their neighbours. Will a man who hears midnight-robbers at his door, get out of bed and raiſe his family for a common defence; and ſhall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr. Wood comes at the head of his confederates to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and

our poſterity for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to ſave your life; but God be thanked, Mr. Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your ſide; when he or his accomplices offer you his droſs, it is but ſaying *No*, and you are ſafe. If a madman ſhould come into my ſhop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of ſtuff, I would pity or laugh at him; or if his behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr. Wood comes to demand my gold and ſilver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and ſilver, in exchange for his traſh, can he deſerve or expect better treatment?

When the evil day is come, (if it muſt come), let us mark and obſerve thoſe who preſume to offer theſe halfpence in payment. Let their names, and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr. Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the firſt honeſt diſcoverer give the word about, that Mr. Wood's halfpence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to ſay all that this melancholy ſubject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one propoſal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this deſtructive project at once. Let ſome ſkilful, judicious pen draw up an advertiſement to the following purpoſe.

" Whereas one William Wood, hardwareman, " now or lately ſojourning in the city of London, " hath by many miſrepreſentations, procured a " patent for coining an hundred and eight thou- " ſand pounds in copper halfpence for this king- " dom; which is a ſum five times greater than our

" occaſions

" occaſions require: And whereas it is notorious, " that the ſaid Wood hath coined his halfpence of " ſuch baſe metal, and falſe weight, that they are " at leaſt ſix parts in ſeven below the real value: " and whereas we have reaſon to apprehend, that " the ſaid Wood may at any time hereafter clan- " deſtinely coin as many more halfpence as he " pleaſes: and whereas the ſaid patent neither " doth, nor can oblige his Majeſty's ſubjects to re- " ceive the ſaid halfpence in any payment, but " leaves it to their voluntary choice: becauſe by " law the ſubject cannot be obliged to take any " money, except *gold* and *ſilver*: and whereas, " contrary to the letter and meaning of the ſaid " patent, the ſaid Wood hath declared, that every " perſon ſhall be obliged to take five pence half- " penny of his coin in every payment: And " whereas the Houſe of Commons and privy-council " have ſeverally addreſſed his Moſt Sacred Majeſty, " repreſenting the ill conſequences which the ſaid " coinage may have upon this kingdom: And, laſtly, " whereas it is univerſally agreed, that the whole " nation to a man (except Mr. Wood, and his confe- " derates) are in the utmoſt apprehenſion of the ru- " inous conſequences that muſt follow from the ſaid " coinage; therefore we, whoſe names are under- " written, being perſons of conſiderable eſtates in " this kingdom, and reſiders therein, do unani- " mouſly reſolve and declare, that we will never " receive one farthing or halfpenny of the ſaid " Wood's coining; and that we will direct all our " tenants to refuſe the ſaid coin from any perſon " whatſoever; of which that they may not be ig- " norant, we have ſent them a copy of this *adver-* " *tiſement* to be read to them by our ſtewards, re- " ceivers," *&c.*

I could wiſh, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and ſigned by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom; and printed

copies thereof ſent to their ſeveral tenants. I am deceived if any thing could ſooner defeat this execrable deſign of Wood. This would immediately give the alarm, and ſet the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage to the meaneſt tenant and cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true,* &c.

I muſt tell you in particular, Mr. Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred perſons have inquired at your houſe for my *letter to the ſhopkeepers,* &c. and you had none to ſell them. Pray keep yourſelf provided with that letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your ſake, any more than I do now. Pray advertiſe both in every newspaper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I deſire you likewiſe to ſell them as cheap as you can.

I am your ſervant,

M. B.

Aug. 4. 1724.

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LETTER III.

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a paper called, *The Report of the Committee of the Moſt Honourable the Privy Council of* England, *relating to* Wood's *halfpence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom of Ireland.

HAving already written two letters to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very preſſing occaſion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly addreſs it than to your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*.

The occaſion is this: A printed paper was ſent to me on the 18th inſtant, intitled, "A report of the "committee of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt "Honourable Privy Council in England, relating "to Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings." There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I ſuppoſe it to have been in Dublin: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the Gazette, but in the London Journal, or ſome other print of no authority or conſequence. And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of ſome printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publiſhing ſomething upon a ſubject which now employs all our thoughts in this kingdom. Mr. Wood, in publiſhing this paper, would inſinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit and private emolument, than

for the honour of the *privy-council*, and both *houſes of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it ſeems intended a vindication of Mr. Wood, not without ſeveral ſevere reflections on the houſes of *Lords* and *Commons* of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamplet; as if it were a diſpute between William Wood, on the one part, and the *lords juſtices*, *privy-council*, and *both houſes of parliament*, on the other; the deſign of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other ſide with caſting raſh and groundleſs aſperſions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr. Wood hath treated the committee with great rudeneſs, by publiſhing an act of theirs in ſo unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the *government* and *privy-council* of Ireland, to whom the committee adviſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted. But, with all deference be it ſpoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is hitherto a law in either kingdom; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains diſputable by every ſubject.

This (may it pleaſe your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*) may ſeem a ſtrange way of diſcourſing in an illiterate ſhopkeeper. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that ſmall portion of reaſon God hath been pleaſed to give me; and when reaſon plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for inſtance, if any lawyer ſhould tell me that ſuch a point were law, from which many groſs palpable abſurdities muſt follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir Edward Coke ſhould poſitively aſſert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary), that a limited prince could by prerogative oblige his ſubjects to take half an ounce of lead, ſtamped with his image, for twenty ſhillings in gold,

gold, I ſhould ſwear he was deceived, or a deceiver; becauſe a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood hath advanced in ſome of his papers, and what ſuſpicious people may poſſibly apprehend from ſome paſſages in that which is called the *report*.

That paper mentions "ſuch perſons to have been "examined, who were deſirous and willing to be "heard upon this ſubject." I am told they were four in all; Coleby, B——, Mr. Finley the banker, and one more, whoſe name I know not. The firſt of theſe was tried for robbing the treaſury in Ireland: and though has was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every perſon in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, ſince I have gone ſo far as to mention particular perſons, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to know who is this Wood himſelf, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almoſt two years together. I find he is in the patent intitled *Eſquire*, although he were underſtood to be only a *hardwareman*; and ſo I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a 'Squire he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropſhire; where pretending to have been robbed, and ſuing the county, he was caſt, and for the infamy of the fact loſt his employment.

I have heard another ſtory of this 'Squire Wood from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was ſent for ſix years ago by Sir Iſaac Newton to try the coinage of four men, who then ſolicited a patent for coining halfpence for Ireland; their names were Wood, Coſtor, Elliſton, and Parker. Parker made the faireſt offer, and Wood the worſt; for his coin were three halfpence in a pound-weight leſs value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he ſolicited

cited his patent; but not ſo plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the ſaid paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a ſecretary of ſtate for ſending over ſuch papers and witneſſes as ſhould be thought proper to ſupport the objections made againſt the patent, (by both houſes of parliament), the Lord Lieutenant repreſented "the great diffi-"culty he found himſelf in, to comply with theſe "orders: that none of the principal members of "both houſes who were in the King's ſervice or "council, would take upon them to adviſe, how "any material perſon, or papers, might be ſent o-"ver on this occaſion," *&c.* And this is often repeated, and repreſented as "a proceeding that "ſeems very extraordinary, and that in a matter "which had raiſed ſo great a clamour in Ireland, "no one perſon could be prevailed upon to come "over from Ireland in ſupport of the united ſenſe "of both houſes of parliament in Ireland; eſpe-"cially that the chief difficulty ſhould ariſe from "a general apprehenſion of a miſcarriage, in an "inquiry before his Majeſty, or in a proceeding "by due courſe of law, in a caſe where both hou-"ſes of parliament had declared themſelves ſo ful-"ly convinced, and ſatisfied upon evidence, and "examinations taken in the moſt ſolemn manner."

How ſhall I, a poor ignorant ſhopkeeper, utterly unſkilled in law, be able to anſwer ſo weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reaſon, unaſſiſted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole caſe, by calling the united ſenſe of both houſes of parliament in Ireland an univerſal clamour. Here the addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of Ireland againſt a ruinous, deſtructive project of an obſcure, ſingle undertaker, is called a *clamour*. I deſire to know, how ſuch a ſtyle would be reſented in England from

from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many impeachments would follow upon it? But supposing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise minister, who despised the universal clamour of a people; and if that clamour can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent practice of a single person, the purchase is not exorbitant.

But in answer to this objection first, it is manifest, that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with such limitations as have been formerly specified in other patents, and granted to persons of this kingdom, or even of England, able to give sufficient security, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr. Knox's patent mentioned in the *report*, security was given in to the exchequer, that the *patentee* should upon all demands be obliged to receive his *halfpence* back, and pay gold or silver in exchange for them. And Mr. Moor (to whom I suppose that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year, by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same reason. This entirely alters the case; for there is no such condition in Wood's patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatsoever.

Put the case, that the two houses of *Lords* and *Commons of* England, and the *privy council* there, should address his Majesty to recall a patent, from whence they apprehended the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and to make it stronger if possible, that the whole nation almost to a man should thereupon discover the most dismal apprehensions, (as Mr. Wood stiles them); would his Majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any minister dare advise him against recalling such a patent? or would the matter be referred to

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the privy council, or to Weſtminſter-hall; the two houſes of parliament plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? and is there even the ſmalleſt difference between the two caſes?

Were not the people of Ireland born as free as thoſe of England? how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their parliament as fair a repreſentative of the people as that of England; and and hath not their privy council as great, or a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs? are not they ſubjects of the ſame King? does not the ſame ſunſhine upon them? and have they not the ſame God for their protector? am I a freeman in England, and do I become a ſlave in ſix hours by croſſing the channel? No wonder then if the boldeſt perſons were cautious to interpoſe in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation; or to preſume to repreſent the repreſentatives of the kingdom; and were juſtly apprehenſive of meeting ſuch a treatment as they would deſerve at the next ſeſſion. It would ſeem very extraordinary, if an inferior court in England ſhould take a matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it againſt the opinion of both houſes.

It happens however, that although no perſons were ſo bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made againſt this patent by the high court of parliament here, yet theſe objections ſtand good, notwithſtanding the anſwers made by Mr. Wood and his council.

The report ſays, that, "upon an aſſay made of "the fineneſs, weight, and value of this copper, "it exceeded in every article." This is poſſible enough in the pieces upon which the aſſay was made: but Wood muſt have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a ſufficient quantity of ſuch *halfpence* as would bear the

the trial; which he was well able to do, altho' *they were taken out of ſeveral parcels*; ſince it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his ſide.

But what need is there of diſputing, when we have a poſitive demonſtration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point? I have ſeen a large quantity of theſe *halfpence* weighed by a very ſkilful perſon, which were of four different kinds, three of them conſiderably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between theſe four ſorts; by which it appears, that the fourth ſort, or the lighteſt, differs from the firſt to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thouſand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the public will be a loſer of eighty-two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings, even ſuppoſing the metal in point of goodneſs to anſwer Wood's contract, and the *aſſay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewiſe been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon ſeveral trials on many of theſe halfpence, have found them to be at leaſt one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his accomplices, have already made of his own coin, and ſcattered about. Now, the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lighteſt ſort of his halfpence, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thouſand four hundred eighty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings; and, if we ſubtract a fourth part of the real value by the *baſe mixture* in the metal, we muſt add to the public loſs one fourth part to be ſubtracted from the intrinſic value of the copper; which in three hundred and ſixty tons amounts to ten thouſand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former

former ſum of eighty-two thouſand one hundred ſixty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings, will make in all ninety-two thouſand two hundred forty-eight pounds loſs to the public; beſides the raps or counterfeits that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *dr/s* excluſive or incluſive with his three hundred and ſixty tons of copper; which however will make a conſiderable difference in the account.

You will here pleaſe to obſerve, that the profit allowed to Wood by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper, valued at one ſhilling and ſixpence, whereas five pence only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the Engliſh halfpence; and this difference is almoſt 25 *per cent.* which is double to the higheſt exchange of money, even under all the addititonal preſſures and obſtructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at preſent. This one circumſtance, in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty pounds between Engliſh and Iriſh halfpence; even allowing thoſe of Wood to be all of the heavieſt ſort.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that for every halfpenny in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, ſixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers eaſy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that theſe halfpence far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his Majeſty's predeceſſors; there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true: which however is altogether miſtaken, not by any fault in the committee, but by the

the fraud and impoſition of Wood, who certainly produced the worſt patterns he could find; ſuch as were coined in ſmall numbers by *permiſſions to private men*, as *butchers halfpence black-dogs*, and others the like; or perhaps the ſmall St. Patrcik's coin, which paſſeth now for a farthing, or at beſt ſome of the ſmalleſt *raps* of the lateſt kind. For I have now by me *halfpence* coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my Lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than thoſe of Wood, and of much better metal; and the great St. Patrick's *halfpence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the preſent debate: if, under the various exigencies of former times, by wars, rebellions, and inſurrections, the kings of England were ſometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixed or baſe money? God forbid that the neceſſities of turbulent times ſhould be a precedent for times of peace, and order and ſettlement.

In the patent above mentioned, granted to Lord Dartmouth in the reign of King Charles II. and renewed to Knox, the ſecurities given in to the exchequer, obligingthe *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy againſt all inconveniencies: and the *copper was coined in our kingdom*; ſo that we were in no danger to purchaſe it with the loſs of all our ſilver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redreſſing of any abuſe.

That the kings of England have exerciſed their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England, is not the preſent queſtion: but, to ſpeak in the ſtile of the *report*, it would ſeem a little extraordinary, ſuppoſing a king ſhould think fit to exerciſe his *prerogative* by coining copper in Ireland to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reaſonable, and whether

the people desired it or no, and without regard to the addresses of his parliament against it. God forbid that so mean a man as I should meddle with the King's *prerogative*: but I have heard very wise men say, that the King's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people. I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by this *patent*? But Ireland is not consulted at all in the matter; and, as soon as Ireland is informed of it, *they* declared against it: The two houses of parliament and the privy council address his Majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a patent; the privy council in England take the matter out of the parliament's cognisance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. Wood shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can suppose, that such patents as these were originally granted with a view of being a *job* for the interest of a particular person to the damage of the public. Whatever profit must arise to the *patentee*, was surely meant at best but as a secondary motive; and since somebody must be a gainer, the choice of the person was made either by favour or *something else*, or by the pretence of merit and honesty: this argument returns so often and so strongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majesty, when he consented to the passing of this *patent*, *conceived* he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr Wood, farther than as an *instrument*; but the people of Ireland think this *patent* (intended, no doubt for their good) to be a most intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr. Wood can never succeed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred not only before the interest, but the very safety and being of a great kingdom; and a kingdom distinguished for

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its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth: not turned from its duty by the "jurisdiction of the "houſe of Lords aboliſhed at a ſtroke, by the "hardſhips of the act of navigation newly inforced, "by all poſſible obſtructions in trade," and by a hundred other inſtances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the leaſt attempt towards an inſurection in favours of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever juſtice a free people can claim, we have at leaſt an equal title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can beſtow on the moſt *loyal ſubjects*, we have reaſon to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deſerved to be ſacrificed to one *ſingle, rapacious, obſcure, ignominious* projector.

Among other clauſes mentioned in this *patent* to ſhew how advantageous it is to Ireland, there is one which ſeems to be of a ſingular nature: that the *patentee* ſhall be obliged, during his term "to pay "eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown, and "two hundred pounds a-year to the comptroller." I have heard indeed, that the King's council do always conſider in the paſſing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewiſe heard, that it is at the ſame conſidered, whether paſſing of it may be injurious to any other perſons or bodies politic? However, although the *attorney* and *ſolicitor* be ſervants to the King, and therefore bound to conſult his Majeſty's intereſt; yet I am under ſome doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid 8000 pounds a-year into his Majeſty's coffers in the midſt of all our taxes, (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in England, even during the war), than purchaſe ſuch an addition to the revenue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thoufand pounds are to be paid by Wood only as a *fmall, circumftantial* charge for the purchafe of his *patent*: what were his other *vifible coft* I know not; and what were his *latent*, is variouſly conjectured; but he muſt be ſurely a man of ſome wonderful merit. Hath he ſaved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of reimburſing himſelf by the *deſtruction* of ours? Hath he diſcovered the longitude, or the univerſal medicine? No; but he hath found the *philoſopher's ſtone* after a new manner, by debaſing of copper, and reſolving to force it upon us for gold.

When the two houſes repreſented to his Majeſty, that this "patent to Wood was obtained in a clandeſtine manner," ſurely the committee could not think the parliament would inſinuate, that it had not paſſed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquiſites were due? They know very well, that perſons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland * affirmed, it was a ſecret to him; and who will doubt of his veracity, eſpecially when he ſwore to a perſon of quality, from whom I had it, that Ireland ſhould never be troubled with theſe halfpence. It was a ſecret to the people of Ireland, who were to be the only ſufferers; and thoſe who beſt know the ſtate of the kingdom, and were moſt able to adviſe in ſuch an affair, were wholly ſtrangers to it.

It is allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was paſſed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of Ireland: and it is there elaborately ſhewn, that "former patents have paſſed in "the ſame manner, and are good in law." I ſhall not diſpute the legality of patents, but am ready to

* Duke of Grafton.

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ſuppoſe it in his Majeſty's power to grant a patent for ſtamping round bits of copper to every ſubject he hath. Therefore, to lay aſide the point of law, I would only put the queſtion, whether in reaſon and juſtice it would not have been proper in an affair upon which the "welfare of the kingdom depends," that the ſaid kingdom ſhould have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the patentee and the officers of the crown, who were to be the only gainers by it.

The parliament, who in matters of this nature are the moſt able and faithful counſellors, did repreſent this grant to be "deſtructive of trade, and "dangerous to the properties of the people:" to which the only anſwer is, That "the King hath a "prerogative to make ſuch a grant."

It is aſſerted, That in the patent to Knox his "halfpence are made and declared the current "coin of the kingdom;" whereas, in this to Wood, there is only a "power given to iſſue them "to ſuch as will receive them." The authors of the report, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by *law*, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patents. I dare ſay they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his Majeſty's "juſt and merciful reign?" But although that clauſe be not in Wood's patent, yet poſſibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that whereby "a power is given to William Wood to "break into houſes in ſearch of any coin made in "imitation of his." This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject; yet this is a precedent taken from Knox's patent, where the ſame power is granted; and is a ſtrong inſtance, what uſes may be ſometimes made of precedents.

But although, before the paſſing of this patent,

it was not thought neceſſary to conſult any perſons of this kingdom, or make the leaſt inquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long paſſed, when Wood hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *ſix times* as much more, the committee hath been pleaſed to make this affair the ſubject of inquiry; Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which conſiſt, as I have already obſerved, of four in number, whereof Coleby, B——, and Mr. Finley the banker, are three. And theſe were to prove, that copper money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The firſt had been out of the kingdom almoſt twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treaſury*; and therefore his knowledge and credibility are equal. Mr. Finley, one of the other witneſſes, honeſtly confeſſed, that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a *large diſcount*, and ſell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thouſand pounds for himſelf.

But ſuppoſe there were not one ſingle halfpenny of copper coin in this whole kingdom, (which Mr. Wood ſeems to intend, unleſs we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emiſſaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the ſhilling more than they paſs for), it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might be ſome *inconvenience*. We have many ſorts of ſmall ſilver coins to which they are ſtrangers in England; ſuch as the French *threepences*, *four pence halfpennies*, and *eight pence farthings*, the Scotch *fivepences* and *tenpences* beſides, their *twentypences* and *three and four pences*, by which we are able to make change to a halfpenny, of almoſt any piece of gold or ſilver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a *ſealed card* with the little

little gold and silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent*, nor HITHERIO *able* by his *estate* to make good.

The *report* farther tells us, it *must be admitted, that letters patents, under the great seal of* Great Britain, *for coining copper-money for* Ireland, *are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of his Majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of his subjects of* Ireland. First, we desire to know, why his Majesty's *prerogative* might not have been as well asserted by passing this patent in Ireland, and subjecting the several conditions of the contract to the inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, since the mixed money in Queen Elisabeth's time during the difficulties of a rebellion; whereas now, upon the greatest imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to England with our complaints; where it hath been for some time the fashion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly used.* Again, the *report* says, that *such patents are obligatory.* After long thinking, I am not able to find out, what can possibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of Wood neither obligeth him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can *oblige* the subject against law; unless an illegal patent passed in *one* kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

Lastly, it is added, that "such patents are in no "manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty "or privilege of the King's subjects of Ireland." If this proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of England may at any time

time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his ſubjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practiſed by the late King James; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuſe from the neceſſity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner "derogatory, nor invaſive of any liber-"ties or privileges of the ſubjects of Ireland," it ought to have been expreſſed what our *liberties* and *privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for in ſpecifying the word *Ireland*, inſtead of ſaying his *Majeſty's ſubjects*, it would ſeem to inſinuate, that we are not upon the ſame foot with our fellow-ſubjects in England; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly aſſerted; for I do not underſtand that *Poining*'s act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of paſſing laws here, (which however was *a power* moſt indirectly obtained), by leaving the negative to the two houſes of parliament. But waving all controverſies relating to the legiſlature, no perſon, I believe, was ever yet ſo bold as to affirm, that the people of Ireland have not the ſame title to the benefits of the *common law* with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by *common law*, we of Ireland have the ſame; ſo that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland* ſtanding in that propoſition was, in the mildeſt interpretation, a *lapſe of the pen*.

The *report* farther aſſerts, that "the precedents "are many, wherein caſes of great importance to "Ireland, and which immediately affected the in-"tereſts of that kingdom, ſuch as warrants, or-"ders, and directions by the authority of the King "and his predeceſſors, have been iſſued under the "royal ſign-manual without any previous reference "or advice of his Majeſty's officers of Ireland, "which have always had their due force, and have

"been

" been punctually complied with and obeyed." It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal source of discontent. However, among all these *precedents*, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a job is to be done, and upon searching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to justify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*, without ever considering the motives and circumstances that first introduced them; the necessity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of ministers, or the arbitrary disposition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by persons eminent in the law, that the worst actions which human nature is capable of, may be justified by the same doctrine. How the first *precedents* began of determining cases of the highest importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its interests, without any previous reference or advice to the King's officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the submission of Tyrone in the last year of Queen Elisabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various scene of war and peace between the English *pale* and the Irish natives; and the government of that part of this island, which lay in the English hands, was in many things under the immediate administration of the King: silver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at least upon great necessity a mixed or base metal was sent from England. The reign of King James I. was employed in settling the kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; and this nation flourished extremely till the time of the massacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in Dublin.

By

By all that I can diſcover, the copper coin of Ireland, for three hundred years paſt, conſiſted of ſmall pence and halfpence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and diſtricts, according to the perſonal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have ſeen many ſorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for Ireland, till the reign of King Charles II. which was in the year 1680, to George Legge, Lord Dartmouth; and renewed by King James II. in the firſt year of his reign (1685) to John Knox. Both patents were paſſed in Ireland; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty ſhillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or ſilver.

The patents both of Lord Dartmouth and Knox were referred to the Attorney-General here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already ſaid, were paſſed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to Lord Dartmouth; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by Roger Moor to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and ſolicitor, that it was not for his Majeſty's ſervice, or the intereſt of the nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by King William. It ſhould therefore ſeem very *extraordinary*, that a patent for coining copper halfpence, intended and profeſſed for the good of the kingdom, ſhould be paſſed without once conſulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poor*, *private*, *obſcure mechanic*; and a patent of ſuch a nature, that as ſoon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being paſſed, they cry out unanimouſly againſt it as *ruinous* and *deſtructive*. The repreſentatives of the nation in parliament, and

and the privy council, addreſs the King to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, ſuch a one as I have deſcribed, ſhall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private intereſt ſhall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St. Paul ſays, "All "things are lawful, but all things are not expedi- "ent." We are anſwered, that this patent is lawful: but is it expedient? We read, that the high-prieſt ſaid, "It was expedient that one man "ſhould die for the people;" and this was a moſt wicked propoſition: but that a "whole nation "ſhould die for one man," was never heard of before.

But becauſe much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper* for Ireland, I will ſet this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at leaſt could be produced of copper coined for Ireland, by virtue of patents paſſed in England; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* ſhewn of a patent paſſed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above an hundred years paſt; and if there were any before, it muſt be in times of confuſion. The only patents I could ever hear of, are thoſe already mentioned to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now, let us compare theſe patents with that granted to Wood. Firſt, the patent to Knox, which was under the ſame conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth, was paſſed in Ireland; the government and the *attorney and ſolicitor general* making report, that it would be uſeful to this kingdom.

The patent was paſſed with the advice of the *King's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from thoſe who thought themſelves ſurcharged, and to give *gold* and *ſilver* for it. Laſtly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*

annum to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; firſt, I find the *halfpence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great uſe to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore induſtriouſly avoided by Wood), ſo it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodneſs of the metal, I have ſeveral *halfpence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than thoſe coined by Wood; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impreſſion is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to ſome of Wood's, by a *fraud* natural to ſuch *patentees*; but not ſo immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumſtance Mr. Wood muſt ſerve for a precedent in future times.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It paſſed upon very falſe ſuggeſtions of his own and of a few confederates: it paſſed in England without the leaſt reference hither; it paſſed unknown to the very Lord Lieutenant, then in England. Wood is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thouſand pounds, and all the *officers* in the kingdom (civil and military) are commanded in the report to countenance and aſſiſt him. Knox had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged "to receive his coin "back again at our demand, and to enter into ſe- "curity for ſo doing." Wood's halfpence are not *milled*, and therefore more eaſily counterfeited by *himſelf*, as well as by others. Wood pays a thouſand pounds *per annum* for thirteen years: Knox paid only ſixteen pounds fourteen ſhillings and four pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the *report* that ſet me the example of making a compariſon between thoſe two patents, wherein the *committee* was groſsly miſled by the falſe repreſentation of William Wood; as it was by another aſſertion, that ſeven hundred tons of copper were

were coined during the twenty-one years of Lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents. Such a quantity of copper at the rate of two ſhillings and eight pence *per* pound would amount to about an hundred and ninety thouſand pounds; which was very near as much as the current caſh of the kingdom in thoſe days; yet, during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for ſeveral years there was no coining at all: beſides, I am aſſured, that, upon inquiring into the cuſtom-houſe books, all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty-one (beſides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-ſeven tons. And we cannot ſuppoſe even that ſmall quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage; ſo that I believe there was never any compariſon more unluckily made, or ſo deſtructive of the deſign for which it was produced.

The pſalmiſt reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he ſelleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them.* That we have greatly offended God by the wickedneſs of our lives, is not to be diſputed; but our King we have not offended in word or deed; and although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not puniſh us for any offences, except thoſe we ſhall commit againſt his legal authority, his ſacred perſon (which God preſerve), or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuſe in arguments, that Ireland is in great want of copper-money. Who were the witneſſes to prove it, hath been ſhewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be judges? Does not the nation beſt know its own wants? Both houſes of parliament, the privy-council, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we deſire that they may not be ſupplied by Mr. Wood: we know our own wants but too well; they are many, and grie-

vous to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let England be satisfied: as things go, they will in a short time have all our gold and silver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchase it with our manufactures, which Wood hath graciously offered to accept. Our *wants* are not so bad by a hundred part as the method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his faculty in New-England; and I hope he will meet at least with an *equal reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to public intelligence. I am supposing a wild case; that if there should be any person already receiving a monstrous pension out of this kindom, who was instrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well consulted their own interests, or Wood must put more dross into his copper, and still diminish its weight.

Upon Wood's complaint, that the officers of the King's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the report says, that "this cannot but be looked "upon as a very extraordinary proceeding," and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The *committee* say, they 'cannot advise his Majesty to "give directions to the officers of the revenue "here, not to receive or utter any of the said coin "as hath been desired in the addresses of both hou-"ses;" but, on the contrary, they "think it both "just and reasonable, that the King should imme-"diately give orders to the commissioners of the "revenue, &c. to revoke all orders, &c. that may "have been given by them to hinder or obstruct "the receiving the said coin." And accordingly, we are told, such orders are arrived. Now, this was a cast of Wood's politics; for his information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well; and that the commissioners of the revenue here were all, except one, sent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken

taken such a step: but Wood was wise enough to consider, that such orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noise, and possibly create some terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he hath gained, that altho' any orders of revocation will be needless, yet a new order is to be sent (and perhaps is already here) to the commissioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in Ireland, that Wood's "halfpence be suffered and permitted, without any "let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial of any "of the King's officers or ministers whatsoever, to "pass, and be received as *current money* by such as "shall be willing to receive them." In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *officers*, both *civil* and *military*, from the *Lord High Chancellor* to a *Justice of Peace*, and from the *General* to an *Ensign*; so that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of *managers* enough. For my own part, as things stand, I have but little regret to find myself out of the number; and therefore I shall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger steps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The matter is come to an issue. His Majesty, *pursuant to the law*, hath left the field open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have *law*, *reason*, *liberty*, and *necessity* to *refuse* it. A knavish jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary*, and *willing to receive* it, will be understood and applied in their true natural meaning, as *commonly understood by Protestants*. For if a fierce captain comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, fol-

lowed by a porter laden with a ſack of Wood's coin upon his ſhoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my ſcarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin, and calls me a *diſſaffected Jacobite dog* for refuſing it, (although I am as loyal a ſubject as himſelf, and *without hire*), and thereupon ſeizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this caſe I ſhall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I ſhall therefore, on ſuch occaſions, firſt order the porter aforeſaid to go off with his pack; and then ſee the money in ſilver and gold in my poſſeſſion before I cut or meaſure my cloth. But if a common ſoldier drinks his pot firſt, and then offers payment in Wood's *halfpence*, the landlady may be under ſome difficulty; for if ſhe complains to his captain or enſign, they are likewiſe officers included in this general order for encouraging theſe halfpence to paſs as *current money*. If ſhe goes to a juſtice of peace, he is alſo an *officer*, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore adviſe her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before ſhe parts with them. However, I ſhould have been content for ſome reaſons that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; becauſe I have heard it ſaid, that their diſcipline is beſt confined within their own diſtrict.

His Majeſty, in the concluſion of his anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords againſt Wood's coin is pleaſed to ſay, that *he will do every thing in his power to the ſatisfaction of his people*. It ſhould ſeem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be underſtood as a thing in his power. But, however, ſince the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and conſequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preſerve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom ſhould continue

continue in a firm, determinate resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal coin*. After which, let the *officers*, to whom these orders are directed, (I would willingly except the *military*), come with their *exhortations*, their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to persuade us to find our interest in our undoing. Let Wood and his *accomplices* travel about the country with *cart-loads* of their *ware*, and see who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a *highwayman* would scorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commissioners* of the *revenue* will proceed in this juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing but gold and silver in payment for his Majesty's customs: and I think they cannot justly offer this coinage of Mr. Wood to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

The sum of the whole is this: The "committee "advises the king to send immediate orders to all "his officers here, that Wood's coin be suffered "and permitted without any let, suit, trouble, &c. "to pass, and be received as *current money* by such "as shall be *willing* to receive the same." It is probable, that the first *willing receivers* may be those who must receive it *whether they will or not*, at least under the penalty of losing an office. But the landed *undepending men*, the *merchants*, the *shopkeepers*, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the consequence be? the owners will sell it for as much as they can get. Wood's halfpence will come to be offered for six a penny, (yet then he will be a sufficient gainer), and the *necessary receivers* will be losers of two thirds in their *salaries* or *pay*.

This puts me in mind of a passage I was told many years ago in England. At a quarter-session in Leicester, the justices had wisely decreed to take off a *halfpenny* in a quart from the price of ale.

One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had paſſed, ſaid thus : " Gentlemen, you have made an order " that *ale* ſhould be ſold in our county for three " halfpence a-quart ; I deſire you will now make " another to appoint who muſt drink it ; for by " G---- I will not."

I buſt beg leave to caution your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* in one particular. Wood hath graciouſly promiſed to *load* us at preſent only with forty thouſand pounds of his coin, *until the exigencies of the kingdom require the reſt.* I intreat you will never ſuffer Mr. Wood to be a judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of ſilver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an *exigency.* He will double his preſent *quantum* by ſtealth as ſoon as he can ; he will pour his own *raps* and *counterfeits* upon us; France and Holland will do the ſame; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them : to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a *rap*, or counterfeit halfpenny, in imitation of his ; but ſo ill performed, that in my conſcience I believe it is not of his coining.

I muſt now deſire your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigeſted paper. I find myſelf to have gone into ſeveral repetitions, which were the effects of haſte, while new thoughts fell in to add ſomething to what I had ſaid before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully anſwered every paragraph in the *report*; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the ſpirit of a pleader, who can find the moſt plauſible topics in behalf of his client, yet there was no great ſkill required to detect the many miſtakes contained in it ; which however are by no means charged upon the Right Honourable *committee*, but upon the moſt falſe, impudent, and fraulent repreſentations of Wood and his accomplices. I deſire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although

although I have mentioned it more than once; that after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *report* of a patent for coining copper in England to paſs in Ireland; and only two patents referred to, (for indeed there was no more), which were both paſſed in Ireland, by references to the King's council here, both leſs advantageous to the coiner than this of Wood; and in both, *ſecurities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and ſilver in lieu of it.* This demonſtrates the moſt flagrant falſehood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable *committee* his inſtruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain), to ruin a kingdom which has deſerved *quite different treatment.*

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a houſe is attempted to be robbed, it often happens, that the weakeſt in the family runs firſt to ſtop the door. All the aſſiſtance I had, were ſome informations from an eminent perſon: whereof I am afraid I have ſpoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the reſt I was not able to manage; I was in the caſe of David, who *could not move in the armour of Saul*; and therefore I rather choſe to attack this *uncircumciſed Philiſtine* (Wood I mean) *with a ſling and a ſtone.* And I may ſay, for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he reſembles Goliath in many circumſtances very applicable to the preſent purpoſe: for Goliath had "a "helmet of *braſs* upon his head, and was armed "with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat "was five thouſand ſhekels of *braſs*, and he had "greaves of *braſs* upon his legs, and a target of "*braſs* between his ſhoulders." In ſhort, he was like Mr. Wood, all over braſs, and "he defied the "armies of the living God. Goliah's conditions

of

of combat were likewiſe the ſame with thoſe of Wood: "If he prevail againſt us, then ſhall we "be his ſervants. But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he ſhall never be a *ſervant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be intruſted in any honeſt man's ſhop.

I will conclude with my humble deſire and requeſt which I made in my ſecond letter, that your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* would pleaſe to order a *declaration* to be drawn up, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt terms your reſolutions never to receive or utter any of Wood's halfpence or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the ſaid *declaration* may be ſigned by as many perſons as poſſible *, who have eſtates in this kingdom, and be ſent down to your ſeveral tenants aforeſaid.

And if the dread of Wood's halfpence ſhould continue until next quarter-ſeſſions, which I hope it will not, the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring againſt them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

(May it pleaſe your Lordſhips and Worſhips,)

Your moſt dutiful and

Obedient ſervant.

Aug. 25. 1724.

M. B.

* A declaration purſuant to this requeſt was ſigned ſoon after by the moſt conſiderable perſons of the kingdom, which was univerſally ſpread, and of great uſe.

LET-

LETTER IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My dear Countrymen,

HAving already written three LETTERS upon ſo diſagreeable a ſubject as Mr. Wood and his halfpence, I conceived my taſk was at an end; but I find that cordials muſt be frequently applied to weak conſtitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long uſed to hardſhips loſe by degrees the very notions of *liberty*; they look upon themſelves as creatures at mercy, and that all impoſitions laid on them by a ſtronger hand are, in the phraſe of the report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowneſs of ſpirit*, to which a kingdom may be ſubject, as well as a particular perſon. And when Eſau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he ſold his *birthright for a meſs of pottage*.

I thought I had ſufficiently ſhewn to all who could want inſtruction, by what methods they might ſafely proceed, whenever his coin ſhould be offered to them: and I believe, there has not been for many ages an example of any kingdom ſo firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at preſent againſt that deteſtable fraud. But however, it ſo happens, that ſome weak people begin to be alarmed anew by rumours induſtriouſly ſpread. Wood preſcribes to the newſmongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers publiſhed here by ſome obſcure printer, (and certainly with a bad deſign), we are told, that the *Papiſts*

pifts in Ireland have entered into an affociation againft his coin: although it be notoriouſly known, that they never once offered to ſtir in the matter; ſo that the two houſes of parliament, the privy council, the great numbers of corporations, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries, and principal gentlemen of ſeveral counties, are ſtigmatized in a lump under the name of *Papiſts*.

This impoſtor and his crew do likewiſe give out, that by refuſing to receive his droſs for Sterling, we " diſpute the King's prerogative, are grown " ripe for rebellion, and ready to ſhake off the " dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Eng- " land." To countenance which reports he hath publiſhed a paragraph in another news-paper to let us know, that " the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to " come over immediately to ſettle his halfpence."

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the leaſt concern upon theſe, and the like rumours, which are no more than the laſt howls of a dog diſſected alive, as I hope he hath ſufficiently been. Theſe calumnies are the only reſerve that is left him. For ſurely our continued and (almoſt) unexampled loyalty will never be called in queſtion, for not ſuffering ourſelves to be robbed of all that we have by one obſcure ironmonger.

As to diſputing the King's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to thoſe who are ignorant what the meaning of that word *prerogative* is.

The kings of theſe realms enjoy ſeveral powers, wherein the laws have not interpoſed; ſo they can make war and peace without the conſent of parliament, and this is a very great prerogative: but if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the King muſt bear the charge of it out of his own purſe; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the King hath a prerogative to coin money without conſent of parliament: but he cannot compel the

the ſubject to take that money, except it be Sterling, gold or ſilver; becauſe herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of ſucceeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to juſtify them. But, to ſay the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and aſcertained. For whoever reads the hiſtory of England will find, that ſome former kings, and thoſe none of the worſt, have upon ſeveral occaſions ventured to control the laws, with very little ceremony or ſcruple, even latter than the days of Queen Eliſabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counſel of ſending *baſe money* hither very narrowly failed of loſing the kingdom; being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the council, and the whole body of the Engliſh here: ſo that, ſoon after her death, it was recalled by her ſucceſſor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you ſome notion of what is meant by the King's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradeſman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great Lord Bacon, that "as "GOD governs the world by the ſettled laws of "nature, which he hath made, and never tranſcends thoſe laws but upon high, important occaſions: ſo, among earthly princes, thoſe are "the wiſeſt and beſt, who govern by the known "laws of the country, and ſeldomeſt make uſe of "their prerogative."

Now here you may ſee, that the vile accuſation of Wood and his *accomplices*, charging us with "diſputing the King's prerogative" by refuſing his braſs, can have no place; becauſe compelling the ſubject to take any coin, which is not Sterling, is no part of the King's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were ſo, we ſhould be the laſt of his people to diſpute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty

loyalty we have always paid to his Majesty, as from the treatment we might in such a case justly expect *from some* who seem to think we have neither *common sense, nor common senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *fellow-subjects*, and not our *masters*, One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to, that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England; for which we have been rewarded with a *worse climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent, a ruined trade, a house of *Peers* without *jurisdiction*, almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's halfpence.

But we are so far from disputing the King's prerogative in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan, only attended with one small limitation, that "no body alive "is obliged to take them.

Upon these considerations I was ever against all recourse to England for a remedy against the present impending evil; especially when I observed, that the addresses of both houses after long expectance produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of Wood; upon which I made some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more; for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake: for before this report was made, his Majesty's most gracious answer to the house of Lords was sent over, and printed; wherein are these words, "granting the patent for coining "halfpence and farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE "PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, &c." That King Charles II. and King James II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpose, is indisputable

indiſputable, and I have ſhewn it at large. Their patents were paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay ſilver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great ſeal of England, the braſs coined in England, not the leaſt reference made to Ireland; the ſum immenſe, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, becauſe in my private thoughts I have ſometimes made a query, whether the *penner* of thoſe words in his Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely conſidered the ſeveral circumſtances, which in my poor opinion ſeem to make a difference *.

Let me now ſay ſomething concerning the other great cauſe of ſome people's fear, as Wood has taught the London news-writer to expreſs it, that "his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming o-"ver to ſettle Wood's halfpence."

We know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants for ſeveral years paſt have not thought this kingdom "worthy the honour of their reſidence," longer than was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's buſineſs; which conſequently "wanted no ſpeed in "the diſpatch." And therefore it naturally fell into moſt mens thoughts, that a new governor, coming at an *unuſual* time, muſt portend ſome *unuſual* buſineſs to be done; eſpecially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new ſummons revoking that prorogation to aſſemble ſoon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other ſide the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents*.

* See the note at the end of this letter.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that ſo *little a creature as* Wood could find credit enough with the King and his miniſters to have the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ſent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of ſome people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great ſeal of England, upon falſe ſuggeſtions, to one William Wood for coining copper *halfpence* for Ireland: the parliament here, upon apprehenſions of the worſt conſequences from the ſaid patent, addreſs the King to have it recalled: this is refuſed, and a committee of the privy council *report* to his Majeſty, that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the beſt he can with his halfpence, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewiſe left to themſelves, unite as one man, reſolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifeſt, that the King and his miniſtry are wholly out of the caſe, and the matter is left to be diſputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to perſuade me, that a lord lieutenant is to be diſpatched over in great haſte before the ordinary time, and a parliament ſummoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thouſand pounds into the pocket of a *ſharper* by the ruin of a moſt loyal kingdom?

But ſuppoſing all this to be true; by what arguments could a lord lieutenant prevail on the ſame parliament, which addreſſed with ſo much zeal and earneſtneſs againſt this evil, to paſs it into a law? I am ſure their opinion of Wood and his project is not mended ſince their laſt prorogation: and ſuppoſing thoſe methods ſhould be uſed, which detractors tell us have been ſometimes put in practice for gaining votes, it is well known, that in this kingdom

kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is as well known to whoſe ſhare they muſt fall.

But, becauſe great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you ſome reaſons, why there are ſo few employments to be diſpoſed of in this kingdom. All conſiderable offices for life here are poſſeſſed by thoſe to whom the reverſions were granted; and theſe have been generally followers of the chief governors, or perſons who had intereſt in the court of England: ſo the Lord Berkeley of Stratton holds that great office of *maſter of the rolls*; the Lord Palmerſton is *firſt remembrancer*, worth near 2000 *l. per annum*. One Dodington, ſecretary to to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the reverſion of *clerk of the pells*, worth 2500 *l.* a-year, which he now enjoys by the death of the Lord Newton. Mr. Southwell is ſecretary of ſtate, and the Earl of Burlington Lord High Treaſurer of Ireland by inheritance. Theſe are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reverſion of ſeveral employments during pleaſure is granted the ſame way. This among many others is a circumſtance whereby the kingdom of Ireland is diſtinguiſhed from all other nations upon earth, and makes it ſo difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr. Addiſon was forced to purchaſe an old obſcure place, called *keeper of the records in Bermingham's tower*, of ten pounds a-year, and to get a ſalary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half a crown either for curioſity or uſe. And we lately ſaw a *favourite ſecretary* * deſcend to be *maſter of the revels*, which by his credit and extortion he hath made pretty conſiderable. I ſay nothing of the under-treaſurerſhip worth about

* Mr. Hopkins, ſecretary to the Duke of Grafton.

9000 *l.* a-year, nor of the commiſſioners of the revenue four of whom generally live in England; for I think none of theſe are granted in reverſion. But the jeſt is, that I have known, upon occaſion, ſome of theſe abſent officers as *keen* againſt the intereſt of Ireland as if they had never been indebted to her for a *ſingle groat*.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes tempted to wiſh, that this project of Wood might ſucceed; becauſe I reflected with ſome pleaſure, what a jolly crew it would bring over among us of lords, and 'ſquires, and penſioners of both ſexes, and officers civil and military, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we ſhould neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to clothe us, unleſs we could be content to prance about in coats of mail, or eat *braſs* as oſtriches do *iron*.

I return from this digreſſion to that which gave me occaſion of making it · and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of Ireland were as *temptable* as any *other* aſſembly within a mile of Chriſtendom, (which God forbid); yet the managers muſt of neceſſity fail for want of tools to work with. But I will yet go one ſtep farther, by ſuppoſing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpoſe to gratify compliers: yet ſtill an inſuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of town nor country party; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuſe to live upon his own eſtate, which brings him gold and ſilver, than with the addition of an employment, when his rents and ſalaries muſt both be paid in Wood's braſs, at above eighty *per cent.* diſcount.

For theſe, and many other reaſons, I am confident you need not be under the leaſt apprehenſions from the ſudden expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant* *,

nant *, while we continue in our hearty diſpoſition, to alter which no ſuitable temptation can poſſibly be offered. And if, as I have often aſſerted from the beſt authority, the *law* hath not left a power in the crown to force any money, except Sterling, upon the ſubject; much leſs can the crown *devolve* ſuch a *power* upon another.

This I ſpeak with the utmoſt reſpect to the perſon and dignity of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, whoſe character was lately given me by a gentleman that hath known him from his firſt appearance in the world; that gentleman deſcribes him as a young man of great accompliſhments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much ſpirit and vivacity. He hath ſince, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal ſecretary of ſtate: and is now about the thirty-ſeventh year of his age appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From ſuch a governor this kingdom may reaſonably hope for as much proſperity as, *under ſo many diſcouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of ſo much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible conſequences to this kingdom by their power with thoſe *who are in office*: and by their arts in managing or deluding others with *oaths*, *affability*, and even with *dinners*. If Wood's braſs had in thoſe times been upon the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. Depending perſons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a "ſervice expected from them under the pain of the "public buſineſs being put into more complying "hands." Others would be allured by *promiſes*. To the country-gentlemen, beſides *good words*, *Burgundy*, and *cloſeting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how "kindly it would be taken to comply

* Lord Carteret, now Earl of Granville.

" with a royal patent, although it were not com-
" pulsory:" that if any inconveniencies enſued, it might be made up with other *graces or favours hereafter*: that gentlemen ought to conſider, *whether it were prudent or ſafe to diſguſt England*: They would be deſired to " think of ſome good bills for
" encouraging of trade, and ſetting the poor to
" work: ſome further acts againſt Popery, and
" for uniting Proteſtants." There would be ſolemn engagements, that we ſhould never be troubled with " above forty thouſand pounds in his
" coin, and all of the beſt and weightieſt ſort,
" for which we ſhall only give our manufactures in
" exchange, and keep our gold and ſilver at home. Perhaps a ſeaſonable report of ſome invaſion would have been ſpread in the moſt proper juncture: which is a great ſmoother of rubs in public proceedings; and we ſhould have been told, that " this
" was no time to create differences, when the king-
" dom was in danger."

Theſe, I ſay, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken to let in this deluge of *braſs* among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have ſucceeded; much leſs under the adminiſtration of ſo excellent a perſon as the Lord CARTERET; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themſelves and their poſterity for ever will be dated from the admiſſion of that execrable coin: that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a ſmall or moderate quantity, than a plague can be confined to few families; and that no equivalent can be given by an earthly power, any more than a dead carcaſe can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumſtance in this univerſal oppoſition to Mr. Wood, that the people ſent over hither from England to *fill up our vacancies, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military*, are all on our ſide.

ſide. Money, the great divider of the world, hath by a ſtrange revolution been the great *uniter* of a moſt *divided* people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a-year in England (*a country of freedom*) to be paid a thouſand in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made primate *, would never quit his ſeat in an Engliſh houſe of Lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Briſtol worth twelve hundred pounds a-year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an Iriſhman at leaſt upon this *one article* as any of his brethren, or even of *us*, who have had the misfor to be born in this iſland. For thoſe who, in the common phraſe, do not *come hither to learn the language*, would never change a better country for a worſe, to receive *braſs* inſtead of *gold*.

Another ſlander ſpread by Wood and his emiſſaries, is, that by oppoſing him we diſcover an inclination to *ſhake off your dependence upon the crown of England*. Pray obſerve how important a perſon is this ſame William Wood; and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private intereſt. Firſt, all thoſe who refuſe to take his coin are *Papiſts*; for he tells us, that *one but Papiſts are aſſociated againſt him*. Secondly, they *diſpute the King's prerogative*. Thirdly, they are *ripe for rebellion*. And, fourthly, they are going to *ſhake off the dependence upon the crown of England*; that is to ſay, *they are going to chuſe another king*; for there can be no other meaning in this expreſſion, however ſome may pretend to ſtrain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to thoſe who are ignorant, another point, which hath often ſwelled in my breaſt. Thoſe who come over hither to us from England, and ſome *weak* people among ourſelves, whenever in diſcourſe we

* Dr. Hugh Boulter.

make

make mention of liberty and property, ſhake their heads, and tell us, that * Ireland is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would ſeem by this phraſe to intend, that the people of Ireland are in ſome ſtate of ſlavery or dependence different from thoſe of England; whereas a *depending kingdom* is a modern term of art, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient civilians, and writers upon government; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in ſome ſtatutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a ſtyle as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expreſſion, a *depending kingdom*, there no more to be underſtood, than that, by a ſtatute made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. "the King, and his ſucceſſors, are "to be Kings imperial of this realm, as united "and knit to the imperial crown of England." I have looked over all the Engliſh and Iriſh ſtatutes without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourſelves to have the ſame King with them; and conſequently they are obliged to have the ſame King with us. For the law was made by our own parliament; and our anceſtors then were not ſuch fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign) to bring themſelves under I know not what dependence, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law*, *reaſon*, or *common ſenſe*.

Let who ever think otherwiſe, I, M. B drapier, deſire to be excepted: for I declare, next under GOD I depend only on the King my Sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am ſo far from depending upon the people of England, that if they ſhould ever rebel againſt my Sovereign, (which God forbid) I would be ready at the firſt command from his Majeſty to take arms againſt

* See the note at the end of this letter.

them,

them, as ſome of my countrymen did againſt theirs at Preſton. And if ſuch a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, I would venture to trangreſs that ſtatute ſo far, as to loſe every drop of my blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland *.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of England have ſometimes aſſumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at firſt openly oppoſed (as far as truth, reaſon, and juſtice are capable of oppoſing) by the famous Mr. Molineux, an Engliſh gentleman born here, as well as by ſeveral of the greateſt patriots and *beſt Whigs* in England; but the love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both ſides were invincible. For in reaſon, all government without the conſent of the governed, is the very definition of ſlavery: but, in fact, "eleven men well armed will certain-"ly ſubdue one ſingle man in his ſhirt." But I have done: for thoſe who have uſed power to cramp liberty, have gone ſo far as to reſent even the liberty of complaining; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refuſed the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to ſink too much under unreaſonable fears, ſo we are too ſoon inclined to be raiſed by groundleſs hopes, according to the nature of all conſumptive bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for ſeveral days paſt, that *ſomebody* in England empowered a ſecond *ſomebody* to write to a third *ſomebody* here to aſſure us, that we *ſhould no more be troubled with theſe halfpence*. And this is reported to be done by the ſame perſon †, who is ſaid to have ſworn ſome months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats*, (though I doubt

* This paragraph gave great offence. See letter 5.

† Mr. Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

they

they would ſtick in our ſtomachs): but which ever of theſe reports be true or falſe, it is no concern of ours. For in this point we have nothing to do with Engliſh miniſters: and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a ſurfeit. The remedy is wholly in our own hands; and therefore I have degreſſed a little in order to refreſh and continue that ſpirit ſo ſeaſonably raiſed among you: and to let you ſee, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in England.

If the pamphlets publiſhed at London by Wood and his *journeymen* in defence of his cauſe were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be perſuaded to read them, they could be perſuaded of his wicked deſign, more than all I ſhall ever be able to ſay. In ſhort, I make him a perfect *ſaint* in compariſon of what he appears to be from the writings of thoſe whom he hires to juſtify his project. But he is ſo far maſter of the field *(let others gueſs the reaſon)*, that no London printer dare publiſh any paper written in favour of Ireland; and here no body hath yet been ſo bold as to publiſh any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few day ago, a pamphlet ſent me of near fifty pages written in favour of Mr. Wood and his coinge, printed in London: it is not worth anſwering, becauſe probably it will never be publiſhed here. But it gave me occaſion to reflect upon an unhappineſs we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our caſe; which however is now under, ſince it is a point they do not in the leaſt concern themſelves about, farther than perhaps as a ſubject of diſcourſe in a coffeehouſe when they have nothing elſe to talk of. For I have reaſon to believe, that no *miniſter* ever gave himſelf the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence,

defence, becauſe I ſuppoſe their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices: elſe it would be impoſſible, that any man could have the impudence to write ſuch a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *neighbours, whoſe underſtandings are juſt upon a level with ours* (which perhaps are none of the *brighteſt*), have a ſtrong contempt for moſt nations, but eſpecially for Ireland. They look upon us as a ſort of *ſavage* Iriſh, whom our anceſtors conquered ſeveral hundred years ago. And if I ſhould deſcribe the Britons to you as they were in Cæſar's time, when they "painted their bodies, or cloth-"ed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts," I ſhould act fully as reaſonably as they do. However, they are ſo far to be excuſed in relation to the preſent ſubject, that hearing only one ſide of the cauſe, and having neither opportunity nor curioſity to examine the other, they *believe a lie* merely for their eaſe; and conclude, becauſe Mr. Wood pretends to have *power*, he hath alſo *reaſon* on his ſide.

Therefore, to let you ſee how this caſe is repreſented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of thoſe notorious falſehoods in point of *fact* and *reaſoning* contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their *own* right ſentiments, when they will ſee, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

Firſt, the writer poſitively aſſerts, "That "Wood's halfpence were current among us for "ſeveral months, with the univerſal approbation "of all people, without one ſingle gainſayer; and "we all, to a man, thought ourſelves happy in "having them."

Secondly,

Secondly, he affirms, " That we were drawn in-
" to a diſlike of them only by ſome cunning, evil-
" deſigning men among us, who oppoſed this pa-
" patent of Wood to get another for themſelves."

Thirdly, That " thoſe who moſt declared at firſt
" againſt Wood's patent, were the very men who
" intend to get another for their own advantage."

Fourthly, That " our parliament and privy
" council, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dub-
" lin, the grand juries and merchants, and in ſhort
" the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs (*as he*
" *expreſſeth it*), were fond of thoſe halfpence, till
" they were inflamed by thoſe few deſigning per-
" ſons aforeſaid."

Fifthly, he ſays directly, That " all thoſe who
" oppoſed the halfpence, were Papiſts, and enemies
" to King George."

Thus far, I am confident, the moſt ignorant among you can ſafely ſwear from your own knowledge, that the author is a moſt notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being ſo manifeſt to the whole kingdom, that, if occaſion required, we might get it confirmed under five hundred thouſand hands.

Sixthly, he would perſuade us, That " if we
" ſell five ſhillings worth of our goods or manu-
" factures for two ſhillings and fourpence worth
" of copper, although the copper were melted
" down, and that we could get five ſhillings in gold
" and ſilver for the ſaid goods; yet to take the
" ſaid two ſhillings and four pence in copper would
" be greatly for our advantage."

And, laſtly, he makes us a very fair offer, as impowered by Wood, That " if we will take off
" two hundred thouſand pounds in his halfpence
" for our goods, and likewiſe pay him three *per*
" *cent.* intereſt for thirty years for an hundred and
" twenty thouſand pounds (at which he computes
" the coinage above the intrinſic value of the cop-
" per) for the loan of his coin, he will after that
" time

" time give us good money for what halfpence will " be then left."

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can to ſhew the inſupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. Firſt, (ſays he), " I will ſend two hundred thouſand pounds of my " coin into your country: the copper I compute " to be, in real value, eighty thouſand pounds, and " I charge you with an hundred and twenty thou- " ſand pounds for the coinage; ſo that you ſee, I " lend you an hundred and twenty thouſand " pounds for thirty years; for which you ſhall " pay me three *per cent.* that is to ſay, three thou- " ſand ſix hundred pounds *per annum*, which " in thirty years will amount to an hundred " and eight thouſand pounds. And when theſe " thirty years are expired, return me my copper, " and I will give you good money for it."

This is the propoſal made to us by Wood in that pamphlet written by one of his commiſſioners; and the auther is ſuppoſed to be the ſame infamous Coleby, one of his under-ſwearers at the committee of council, who was tried for robbing the treaſury here, where he was an under-clerk.

By this propoſal he will firſt receive two hundred thouſand pounds, in goods or ſterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thouſand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thouſand pounds. Secondly, he will recover for intereſt an hundred and eight thouſand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his halfpence upon his executors, (for before that time he will be probably gone to his own place), thoſe executors will very reaſonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of ſuch a dealer as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a Dutch reckoning, wherein if you diſpute the unreaſon-

ablenſs and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord ſhall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although theſe and the like pamphlets publiſhed by Wood in London are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much indignation, as contempt would allow: yet I thought it proper to give you a ſpecimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any body to contradict him; while our few friends there wonder at our ſilence: and the Engliſh in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refuſal to wilfulneſs or diſaffection, juſt as Wood and his hirelings are pleaſed to repreſent.

But although our arguments are not ſuffered to be printed in England, yet the conſequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to perſuade the people there, that we ought to receive his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to reject it under the pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his beſt and his worſt.

Before I conclude, I muſt beg leave, in all humility, to tell Mr. Wood, that he is guilty of great indiſcretion by cauſing ſo honourable a name as that of Mr. Walpole to be mentioned ſo often and in ſuch a manner upon this occaſion. A ſhort paper printed at Briſtol, and reprinted here, reports Mr. Wood to ſay, that he "wonders at "the impudence and inſolence of the Iriſh in re- "fuſing his coin, and what he will do when Mr. "Walpole comes to town." Where, by the way, he is miſtaken; for it is the true Engliſh people of Ireland who refuſe it, although we take it for granted, that the Iriſh will do ſo too whenever they are aſked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expreſſed, that Mr. Walpole will "cram his braſs down our throats." Sometimes it is given out that we muſt "either take "theſe

" theſe halfpence, or eat our brogues:" and in another news-letter, but of yeſterday, we read, that the ſame great man " hath ſworn to make us ſwal-" low his coin in fire-balls."

This brings to my mind the known ſtory of a Scotchman, who receiving the ſentence of death, with all the circumſtances of hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling, and the like, cried out, " What need all this cookery?" And I think we have reaſon to aſk the ſame queſtion; for, if we believe Wood, here is a dinner getting ready for us; and you ſee the bill of fare; and I am ſorry the drink was forgot; which might eaſy be ſupplied with melted lead and flaming pitch.

What vile words are theſe to put into the mouth of a great counſellor, in high truſt with his Majeſty, and looked upon as a prime miniſter? If Mr. Wood hath no better a manner of repreſenting his patrons, when I come to be a great man he ſhall never be ſuffered to attend at my levee. This is not the ſtile of a great miniſter; it ſavours too much of the kettle and the furnace, and came entirely out of Wood's forge.

As for the threat of making us eat our brogues, we need not be in pain; for if his coin ſhould paſs, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a national reproach; becauſe then we ſhould have neither ſhoe nor brogue left in the kingdom. But here the falſehood of Mr. Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. Walpole never heard of a brogue in his whole life.

As to " ſwallowing theſe halfpence in fire-" balls," it is a ſtory equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole ſtock of Mr. Wood's coin and metal muſt be melted down, and moulded into hollow balls and wild-fire, no bigger than a reaſonable throat may be able to ſwallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at leaſt fifty mil-

lions of halfpence to be ſwallowed by a million and an half of people; ſo that, allowing two halfpence to each ball, there will be about ſeventeen balls of wildfire a-piece to be ſwallowed by every perſon in the kingdom; and, to adminiſter this doſe, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thouſand operators, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, conſidering the ſqueamiſhneſs of ſome ſtomachs, and the peeviſhneſs of young children, is but reaſonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of ſuch an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be ſpurious, or, at leaſt, only a new ſcheme of Mr. Wood himſelf; which, to make it paſs the better in Ireland, he would father it upon a miniſter of ſtate.

But I will now demonſtrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr. Walpole is againſt this project of Mr. Wood, and is an intire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the univerſal opinion of being a wiſe man, an able miniſter, and in all his proceedings purſuing the true intereſt of the King his maſter: and that as his integrity is above all corruption, ſo is his fortune above all temptation. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly ſafe from that corner, and ſhall never be under the neceſſity of contending with ſo formidable a power, but be left to poſſeſs our brogues and potatoas in peace, as * "remote from thunder as we "are from Jupiter."

I am, my dear countrymen,
your loving fellow-ſubject,
fellow-ſufferer, and
humble ſervant.

October 13. 1724. M. B.

* *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

Upon

Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, ſoon after the publication of this letter, the paſſages from which this note is referred to were ſelected as ſufficient grounds for proſecution, and a proclamation was publiſhed by his Excellency and council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for diſcovering the author. Harding the printer was impriſoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared againſt him: which gave occaſion to the following paper.

Seaſonable Advice to the Grand Jury, concerning the bill preparing againſt the Printer of the preceding Letter.

SINCE a bill is preparing for the grand jury to find againſt the printer of the Drapier's laſt letter, there are ſeveral things maturely to be conſidered by thoſe gentlemen before they determine upon it.

Firſt, They are to conſider, that the author of ſaid pamphlet did write three other diſcourſes on the ſame ſubject, which, inſtead of being cenſured, were univerſally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raiſed and continued that ſpirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if thoſe pamphlets had not been written, his coin muſt have over-run the nation ſome months ago.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered, that this pamphlet, againſt which a proclamation hath been iſſued, is written by the ſame author; that nobody ever doubted the innocence and goodneſs of his deſign; that he appears through the whole tenor of it, to be a loyal ſubject to his Majeſty, and devoted to the houſe of Hanover, and declares himſelf in a manner peculiarly zealous againſt the Pretender. And if ſuch a writer in four ſeveral treatiſes on ſo nice a ſubject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was neceſſary to ſpeak of England and of liberty, ſhould in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expreſſion, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done, eſpecially when we conſider, that he could have no poſſible deſign in view either of

of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well considered, whether any one expreſſion in the ſaid pamphlet be really liable to a juſt exception, much leſs to be found "wicked, malicious, ſeditious, reflecting upon his "Majeſty and his miniſtry, &c."

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is ſaid the proſecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, firſt where the author mentions the penner of the King's anſwer. Firſt, It is well known his Majeſty is not maſter of the Engliſh tongue; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſome other perſon ſhould be employed to pen what he hath to ſay, or write in that language. Secondly, His Majeſty's anſwer is not in the firſt perſon, but in the third. It is not ſaid, WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSOR. By which it is plain, theſe are properly not the words of his Majeſty; but ſuppoſed to be taken from him, and tranſmitted hither by one of his miniſters. Thirdly, It will be eaſily ſeen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his ſentiments upon this particular with the utmoſt caution and reſpect, as any impartial reader will obſerve.

The ſecond paragraph, which it is ſaid will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author ſays of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: he explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in Ireland, whereby it is enacted, That "whoever is King of England ſhall "be King of Ireland." Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that ſome lawyers ſhould fully inform the jury what other law there is, either ſtatute or common, for this dependency; and if there be no law, there is no tranſgreſſion.

The fourth thing very maturely to be conſider-

ed

ed by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: the people in general finding no fault in the Drapier's laſt book, any more than the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a grand jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favour of Wood's coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take thoſe halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to ſtand out: ſo that the queſtion comes to this, which will be of the worſt conſequence? to let paſs one or two expreſſions, at the worſt only unwary, in a book written for the public ſervice; or to leave a free open paſſage for Wood's braſs to over-run us, by which we ſhall be undone for ever.

The fifth thing to be conſidered is, That the members of the grand jury being merchants and principal ſhopkeepers, can have no ſuitable temptation offered them, as a recompenſe for the miſchief they will do and ſuffer, by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loſs or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the ſtate, to make up in their own private advantages by the deſtruction of their country; whereas thoſe who go about to adviſe, entice, or threaten them to find that bill, have great employments which they have a mind to keep, or to get greater; as it was likewiſe the caſe of all thoſe who ſigned the proclamation to have the author proſecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, ſo renowned for his piety, and wiſdom, and love of his country, abſolutely refuſed to condemn the book or the author.

Laſtly, It ought to be conſidered, what conſequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expreſſions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find

find any. But how can it be ſuppoſed that an ignorant printer can be ſuch a *critic?* He knew the author's deſign was honeſt, and approved by the whole kingdom: he adviſed with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could ſee none himſelf: it was ſent him in an unknown hand; but the ſame in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that they know not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring puniſhment upon the innocent, will appear very hard, to ſay no worſe. For it will be impoſſible to find the author, unleſs he will pleaſe to diſcover himſelf; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I ſuppoſe, what he did at firſt out of modeſty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable aſcribed to Demoſthenes: He had ſerved the people of Athens with great fidelity in the ſtation of an *orator*; when upon a certain occaſion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the following ſtory. Once upon a time the wolves deſired a league with the ſheep, upon this condition; that the cauſe of ſtrife might be taken away, which was the ſhepherds and maſtiffs: this being granted the wolves without all fear made havock of the ſheep.

November 11. 1724.

Copies of this paper were diſtributed to every perſon of the grand jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited; who, probably for the reaſons contained in it, refuſed to find the bill; upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, who had preſided at a former proſecution of the Dean's printer,

printer *, discharged them in a rage. The following extract was soon after published, to shew the illegality of this proceeding; and the next grand jury that was empannelled made the subsequent presentment against all the abettors of Wood's project. See Letter to Lord Molesworth, p. 302. of this volume.

* See the first note prefixed to the proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures, in this volume.

An extract from a book, intitled, *An exact collection of the debates of the house of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct.* 21. 1680, *p.* 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the house of Commons in England, Nov. 13. 1680.

SEveral persons being examined about the dismissing a grand jury in Middlesex, the house came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the discharging of a grand jury by any judge, before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in Westminsterhall; and report the same, with their opinion herein, to this house.

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, for his conduct, deserved to have been impeached by the house of Commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm. But as the house of Commons forbore to execute their vengeance upon the Chief Justice, Swift seized upon him as a prey, lashed him, and worried him out of all his patience, by many sarcastic epigrams, squibs, and other severe reflections upon his unworthy demeanor, until at last he became odious and ridiculous to the whole kingdom. Neither could his death, which happened soon after, appease the vengeance of the incensed patriot. For Swift, resolving to make him an example to all future ages, pursued him into the regions of the dead, and coupled him with Anytus the accuser of Socrates. Such indeed was at last the sacrifice that poor unfortunate Whitshed became unto the resentment of Dr. Swift.- -----See Swift's poems concerning Whitshed; also, *A short view of Ireland*; and, *An answer to a memorial*. See also *The life and character of Dr. Swift*. D. Swift.

The

The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND JURY of the county of the city of Dublin.

WHereas ſeveral great quantities of baſe metal coined, commonly called Wood's halfpence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in ſeveral houſes of this city, with an intention to make them paſs clandeſtinely among his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; notwithſtanding the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, and the privy council, and the declarations of moſt of the corporations of this city againſt the ſaid coin: and whereas his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his loyal ſubjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuſe the ſaid halfpence:

We the grand jury of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas term 1724, having entirely at heart his Majeſty's intereſt, and the welfare of our county, and being thoroughly ſenſible of the great diſcouragements which trade hath ſuffered by the apprehenſions of the ſaid coin, whereof we have already felt the diſmal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his Majeſty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our poſterity, do *preſent* all ſuch perſons as have attempted, or ſhall endeavour by fraud, or otherwiſe to impoſe the ſaid halfpence upon us, contrary to his Majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, as enemies to his Majeſty's government, and to the ſafety, peace, and welfare of all his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; whoſe affections have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by their zeal to his illuſtrious family before his happy acceſſion to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever ſince.

As

As we do, with all juſt gratitude, acknowledge the ſervices of all ſuch patriots as have been eminently zealous for the intereſt of his Majeſty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent impoſition of the ſaid Wood, and preventing the paſſing his baſe coin; ſo we do, at the ſame time, declare our abhorrence and deteſtation of all reflections on his Majeſty and his government; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his moſt ſacred Majeſty againſt the pretender, and all his Majeſty's open and ſecret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the grand-jury chamber, this 28th of November 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empſon,
Nathaniel Pearſon,
Joſeph Nuttall,
William Aſton,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearſon,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawſon,
David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

The preceding paper was publiſhed about a month after the proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of 300 l. for the diſcovering the author of the Drapier's fourth letter.

A LETTER

To the Right Honourable

The Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the Year 1724.

They compaſſed me about alſo with words of deceit, and fought againſt me without a cauſe.
For my love they are my adverſaries; but I give myſelf unto prayer.
And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. Pſal. cix. 3, 4, 5.
Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; leſt at any time thou fear the perſon of the mighty, and lay a ſtumbling-block in the way of thy uprightneſs.
Offend not againſt the multitude of a city, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the people.
Bind not one ſin upon another, for in one thou ſhalt not be unpuniſhed. Ecclus vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! ſed ſuperent quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr. HARDING,

WHEN I ſent you my former papers, I cannot ſay I intended you either good or hurt; and yet you have happened through my means to receive both. I pray God deliver you from any more of

of the latter, and increaſe the former. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the moſt unfortunately circumſtantiated; for, as you deal in the moſt worthleſs kind of traſh, the penny-productions of pennyleſs ſcriblers; ſo you often venture your liberty, and ſometimes your lives, for the purchaſe of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are puniſhed for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you in particular think you have reaſon to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in priſon, to your great expenſe, as well as hardſhip; and for a proſecution ſtill impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, how that matter ſtands. Since the preſs hath lain under ſo ſtrict an inſpection, thoſe who have a mind to inform the world, are become ſo cautious as to keep themſelves, if poſſible, out of the way of danger. My cuſtom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written we ſend to your houſe by a blackguard boy. But, at the ſame time, I do aſſure you upon my reputation, that I never did ſend you any thing for which I thought you could poſſibly be called to an account. And you will be my witneſs, that I always deſired you, by a letter, to take ſome good advice before you ventured to print; becauſe I knew the *dexterity* of *dealers in the law*, at finding out ſomething to faſten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly conſult ſeveral very able perſons, and even ſome who afterwards appeared againſt you: to which I can only anſwer, that you muſt either change your adviſers, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I deſire you will ſend the incloſed letter directed to my Lord Viſcount Moleſworth, at his houſe in Brackdenſtown, near Swords: but I would have it ſent printed for the convenience of his Lordſhip's reading; becauſe this counterfeit hand of my pren-

tice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some notable lawyer: I am assured you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expenses. For although I have taken so much care, that I think it impossible to find a topic out of the following papers for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the last; with little mention of Mr. Wood or his halfpence; because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for new fears; and, in that case, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am,

From my shop in
St. Francis-street,
Dec. 14. 1724.

your friend
and servant,
M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer *, your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

* The copies were always sent to the press by some obscure messenger, who never knew the person from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuensis only was trusted, to whom about two years after the author gave an employment of 40 *l.* a year as a reward for his fidelity. *Dub. edit.*

To

To the Right Honourable

The Lord VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH,

At his houſe at Brackdenſtown, near Swords.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late on the maxim of common obſervers, That thoſe who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reaſon to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myſelf the diſpleaſure of the government, ſignified by a proclamation promiſing a reward of three hundred pounds to the firſt faithful ſubject who ſhall be able and inclined to inform againſt me; to which I may add, the laudable zeal and induſtry of my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, in his endeavours to diſcover ſo dangerous a perſon. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cauſe to do ſo; and the common obſervation ſtill ſtands good.

It will ſometimes happen, I know not how, in the courſe of human affairs, that a man ſhall be made liable to legal animadverſions, where he hath nothing to anſwer for either to God or his country; and condemned at Weſtminſter-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the day of judgement.

After ſtrictly examining my own heart, and conſulting ſome divines of great reputation, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any * "malice or wickedneſs a-

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

" againſt the public; of any deſigns to ſow ſedi-
" tion; of reflecting on the king and his miniſters;
" or of endeavouring to alienate the affections of
" the people of this kingdom from thoſe of Eng-
" land." All I can charge myſelf with, is a weak attempt to ſerve a nation in danger of deſtruction by a moſt wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its aſſiſtance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burden upon my conſcience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myſelf into a ſecond danger, by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a judge, who, upon the criminal's appeal to the dreadful day of judgment, told him he had incurred a premunire for appealing to a foreign juriſdiction: and of another in Wales, who ſeverely checked the priſoner for offering the ſame plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by ſuch a compariſon; becauſe *compariſons were odious*.

But, in order to make ſome excuſe for being more ſpeculative than others of my condition, I deſire your Lordſhip's pardon, while I am doing a very fooliſh thing; which is to give you ſome little account of myſelf.

I was bred at a free ſchool, where I acquired ſome little knowledge in the Latin tongue. I ſerved my apprenticeſhip in London, and there ſet up for myſelf with good ſucceſs; until by the death of ſome friends, and misfortunes of others, I returned into this kingdom; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the woollen manufacture through all its branches; wherein I met with great diſcouragement, and powerful oppoſers, whoſe objections appeared to me very ſtrange and ſingular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even ſome of the weaving trade were

were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as abſurd and unnatural. I remember your Lordſhip at that time did me the honour to come into my ſhop, where I ſhewed you * a piece of black and white ſtuff juſt ſent from the dyer: which you were pleaſed to approve of, and be my cuſtomer for.

However, I was ſo mortified, that I reſolved for the future to ſit quietly in my ſhop, and deal in common goods, like the reſt of my brethren; until it happened ſome months ago, conſidering with myſelf, that the lower or poorer ſort of people wanted a plain ſtrong coarſe ſtuff to defend them againſt cold eaſterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blaſting for a long time together; I contrived one on purpoſe, which ſold very well all over the kingdom, and preſerved many thouſands from agues. I then made a * ſecond and a third kind of ſtuffs for the gentry, with the ſame ſucceſs; inſomuch that an ague hath hardly been heard of for ſome time.

This incited me ſo far, that I ventured upon a † fourth piece made of the beſt Iriſh wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the beſt lord or judge of the land. But of late ſome great folks complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a ſhuddering in their limbs, and have thrown it off in a rage; curſing to hell the poor drapier, who invented it: ſo that I am determined never to work for perſons of quality again; except for your Lordſhip and a very few more.

I aſſure your Lordſhip, upon the word of an honeſt citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. Wood's halfpence, with the ſale of all the ſeveral ſtuffs I have contrived: for I give the

* By this is meant, the *Propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures.*

* The drapier's firſt three letters.

† The fourth letter, againſt which the proclamation was iſſued.

whole

whole profit to the *dyers* and *preſſers* ‡. And therefore I hope you will pleaſe to believe, that no other motive, beſides the love of my country, could engage me to buſy my head and hands to the loſs of my time, and the gain of nothing but vexation and ill-will.

I have now in hand one piece of ſtuff to be woven on purpoſe for your Lordſhip; although I might be aſhamed to offer it to you, after I have confeſſed, that it will be made only from the ‖ ſhreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former. However, I ſhall work it up as well as I can; and, at worſt, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very ſenſible, how ill your Lordſhip is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a drapier in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very ſparingly, into an affair of ſtate? for ſuch is now grown the controverſy with Mr. Wood, if ſome great lawyers are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with farthings, and go on to gold, till ſome of them loſe their eſtates, and die in jail; ſo it may poſſibly fall out in my caſe, that by playing too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a fine double to the reward for betraying me; be ſent to priſon, and *not delivered thence until I ſhall have paid the uttermoſt farthing.*

There are, my Lord, three ſorts of perſons, with whom I am reſolved never to diſpute; a highwayman with a piſtol at my breaſt; a troop of dragoons, who come to plunder my houſe; and a man of the law, who can make a merit of accuſing me. In each of theſe caſes, which are almoſt the ſame, the beſt method is to keep out of the way; and the next beſt is, to deliver your money, ſurrender your houſe, and confeſs nothing.

‡ Printers. ‖ Meaning the preſent letter.

I am told, that the two points in my laſt letter, from which an occaſion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords upon Mr. Wood's patent; and where I diſcourſe upon Ireland being a dependent kingdom. As to the former I can only ſay, that I have treated it with the utmoſt reſpect and caution; and I thought it neceſſary to ſhew where Wood's patent differed in many eſſential parts from all others that ever had been granted; becauſe the contray had, for want of due information, been ſo ſtrongly and ſo largely aſſerted. As to the other, of Ireland's dependency: I confeſs to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to underſtand what it meant. This gave me the curioſity to inquire among ſeveral eminent lawyers, who profeſſed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the ſtatutes of both kingdoms without the leaſt information, further than an Iriſh act that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one King. I cannot ſay, I was ſorry to be diſappointed in my ſearch, becauſe it is certain, I could be contented to depend only upon God and my prince, and the laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations. But ſince my betters are of a different opinion, and deſire further dependencies, I ſhall outwardly ſubmit; yet ſtill inſiſting in my own heart upon the exception I made of M. B. *drapier*. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle ſtory I had heard in England, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but becauſe it inſinuates neither treaſon nor ſedition, I will juſt barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the Peers were ſo great that the Commons were looked upon as little better than their dependents, a bill was brought in for making ſome new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drue, a member of the houſe ſtood up, and ſaid,

ſaid, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it paſs; but however, for ſome reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he deſired that a clauſe might be inſerted for *excepting the family of the Drues*. The oddneſs of the propoſition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were miſtaken, or went too far in examining the dependency, muſt be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although indeed not in ſo effectual and deciſive a manner. But to affirm, as I hear ſame do, in order to countenance a fearful and ſervile ſpirit, that this point did not belong to my ſubject, is a falſe and fooliſh objection. There were ſeveral ſcandalous reports induſtriouſly ſpread by Wood and his accomplices, to diſcourage all oppoſition againſt his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a rebellion; that we diſputed the King's prerogative, and were ſhaking off our dependency. The firſt went ſo far, and obtained ſo much belief againſt the moſt viſible demonſtrations to the contrary, that a great perſon of this kingdom, now in England, ſent over ſuch an account of it to his friends, as would make any good ſubject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore neceſſary to treat that calumny as it deſerved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to diſpute his Majeſty's prerogative; becauſe the prerogative was not concerned in the queſtion; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And laſtly, to clear us from the imputation of ſhaking off our dependency, I ſhewed wherein I thought, and ſhall ever think, this dependency conſiſted; and cited the ſtatute above mentioned made in Ireland; by which it is enacted, that "whoever is "King of England, ſhall be King of Ireland;" and that the two kingdoms ſhall be "for ever knit to-

"gether

" gether under one King." This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our dependency; becauſe it was altogether out of our power: for ſurely no King of England will ever conſent to the repeal of this ſtatute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accuſation It is ſaid I *went too far*, when I declared, " that if ever the pretender ſhould come to be " fixed upon the throne of England (which God " forbid), I would ſo far venture to tranſgreſs this " ſtatute, that I would loſe the laſt drop of my " blood, before I would ſubmit to him as King of " Ireland."

This I hear on all ſides is the ſtrongeſt and weightieſt objection againſt me; and which hath given the moſt offence; that I ſhould be ſo bold to declare againſt a direct ſtatute; and that any motive, how ſtrong ſoever, could make me reject a king, whom England ſhould receive. Now, if in defending myſelf from this accuſation I ſhould freely confeſs, that I *went too far*; that the expreſſion was very indiſcreet, although occaſioned by my zeal for his preſent Majeſty, and his Proteſtant line in the houſe of Hanover; that I ſhall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgement and ſorrow for my error will be ſome atonement, and a little ſoften the hearts of my powerful adverſaries: I ſay, if I ſhould offer ſuch a defence as this, I do not doubt but ſome people would wreſt it to an ill meaning by ſpiteful interpretation. And therefore, ſince I cannot think of any other anſwer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but ſtill without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your Lordſhip a ſecret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore pleaſe to know, that this habit of writing and diſcourſing, wherein I unfortunately differ

differ from almoſt the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wiſh, was acquired during my apprenticeſhip in London, and and a long reſidence there after I had ſet up for myſelf. Upon my return and ſettlement here, I thought I had only changed one country of freedom for another. I had been long converſing with the writings of your Lordſhip *, Mr. Locke, Mr. Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of "liberty as a bleſſing, to which "the whole race of mankind hath an original title; "whereof nothing but unlawful force can diveſt "them." I knew a great deal of the ſeveral Gothic inſtitutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be deſtroyed: and I ever thought it the moſt uncontrolled and univerſally agreed maxim, "That freedom conſiſts in a people's "being governed by laws made with their own con"ſent; and ſlavery in the contrary." I have been likewiſe told, and believe it to be true, that liberty and property are words of known uſe and ſignification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to underſtand, and have them often in their mouths. Theſe were the errors which have miſled me, and to which alone I muſt impute the ſevere treatment I have received. But I ſhall in time grow wiſer, and learn to conſider my driver, the road I am in, and with whom I am yoked. This I will venture to ſay, that the boldeſt and moſt obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in England have only expoſed me as a ſtupid fool, who went to prove that *the ſun ſhone in a clear ſummer's day*: and I have witneſſes ready to depoſe, that your Lordſhip hath ſaid and writ fifty times worſe; and what is ſtill an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and ſtronger arguments: ſo that, as politicks run,

* He publiſhed a book in the reign of William III. intitled, *The ſtate of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Hawkeſ.*

I do not know a perſon of more exceptionable principles than yourſelf: and if ever I ſhall be diſcovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and ſupport me in priſon; or elſe I may chance to inform againſt you by way of repriſal.

In the mean time I beg your Lordſhip to receive my confeſſion; that if there be any ſuch a thing as a dependency of Ireland upon England, otherwiſe than as I have explained it, either by the law of God, of nature, of reaſon, of nations, or of the land, (which I ſhall die rather than grant), then was the proclamation againſt me the moſt merciful that ever was put out; and inſtead of accuſing me as malicious, wicked, and ſeditious, it might have been directly as guilty of high-treaſon.

All I deſire is, that the cauſe of my country againſt Mr. Wood may not ſuffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the king, and the law; I hope no man will aſſert, that it depends upon Mr. Wood. I ſhould be heartily ſorry, that this commendable ſpirit againſt me ſhould accidentally (and what, I hope, was never intended) ſtrike a damp upon that ſpirit in all ranks and corporations of men againſt the deſperate and ruinous deſign of Mr. Wood. Let my countrymen blot out thoſe parts in my laſt letter, which they diſlike; and let no ruſt remain on my ſword to cure the wounds I have given to our moſt mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where ſeveral things were to be renounced, he ſaid, he loved renouncing; aſked if any more were to be renounced; for he was ready to renounce as much as they pleaſed. Although I am not ſo thorough a renouncer, yet let me have but good city ſecurity againſt this peſtilent coinage, and I ſhall be ready, not only to renounce every ſyllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them chearfully with my own hands into thoſe of the common hangman to be burnt with no

better company than the coiner's effigies, if any part of it hath escaped out of the secular hands of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of some people may be, I think it is agreed, that may of those who subscribed against me, are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom, who opposed Mr. Wood *; and it was with great satisfaction, that I observed some right honourable names very amicably joined with my own at the bottom of a strong declaration against him and his coin. But if the admission of it among us be already determined, the worthy person who is to betray me, ought in prudence to do it with all convenient speed; or else it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds Sterling for the discharge of his hire, when the public shall have lost five hundred thousand, if there be so much in the nation; besides four fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight, which of them gave the first provocation, or struck the first blow. It is manifest that Mr. Wood hath done both: and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first hanged, and his dross thrown into the sea: after which the drapier will be ready to stand his trial. "It must needs be that offences come, but wo un- "to him by whom the offence cometh. If Mr. Wood had held his hand, every body else would have held their tongues; and then there would

* As the Drapier's letters were written expressly against Wood's halfpence, it might well be imagined that a proclamation against the author would produce an opinion, that to oppose Wood's halfpence was illegal, and subjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent so fatal a mistake, it is here remarked, that many of those who subscribed the proclamation, were yet strenuous oppofers of Wood's project. This distinction is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which was written soon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though for some reasons deferred.---- See the letter to Lord Middleton, and the note prefixed. *Hawkes.*

have

have been little need of pamphlets, juries, or proclamations upon this occaſion. The provocation muſt needs have been very great, which could ſtir up an obſcure, indolent drapier to become an author. One would almoſt think, the very ſtones in the ſtreet would riſe up in ſuch a cauſe: and I am not ſure they will not do ſo againſt Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known ſtory of the dumb boy, whoſe tongue forced a paſſage for ſpeech by the horror of ſeeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may leſſen the wonder, that a tredeſman hid in privacy and ſilence ſhould cry out, when the life and being of his political mother are attempted before his face, and by ſo infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr. Wood the deſtroyer of a kingdom walks about in triumph, (unleſs it be true, that he is in jail for debt), while he who endeavoured to aſſert the liberty of his country is forced to hide his head for occaſionally dealing in a matter of controverſy. However, I am not the firſt, who hath been condemned to death for gaining a great victory over a powerful enemy by diſobeying for once the ſtrict orders of military diſcipline.

I am now reſolved to follow (after the uſual proceeding of mankind, becauſe it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean* *. He ſhewed the miſtake I was in, of truſting to the general good-will of the people; that I had ſucceeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that ſome unfortunate circumſtantial lapſe would probably bring me within the reach of power: that my good intentions would be no ſecurity againſt thoſe who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterneſs of my ſoul. He produced an inſtance of a perſon as innocent, as diſintereſted, and as well-

* The author is ſuppoſed to mean himſelf.

meaning as myſelf; who had written † a very ſeaſonable and inoffenſive treatiſe, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which however the printer was proſecuted with the utmoſt virulence; the *jury ſent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The dean further obſerved, that I was in a manner left alone to ſtand the battle; while others, who had ten thouſand times better talents than a *drapier*, were ſo prudent as to lie ſtill; and perhaps thought it no unpleaſant amuſement to look on with ſafety, while another was giving them diverſion at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a ſufficient recompence by a little applauſe: whereupon he concluded with a ſhort ſtory of a Jew at Madrid; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a croud of ſchoolboys following him to the ſtake, and apprehending they might loſe their ſport if he ſhould happen to recant, would often clap him on the back, and cry, *Sta firme Moyſe*, (Moſes *continue ſtedfaſt*.)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his obſervations juſt; and in one reſpect my condition is worſe than that of the Jew: for "no recantation will ſave me." However, it ſhould ſeem by ſome late proceedings, that my ſtate is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the ſteadineſs of two impartial grand juries; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained; that, as philoſophers ſay, *virtue is ſeated in the middle*; ſo, in another ſenſe, the little virtue left in the world is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by ambition, nor driven by poverty.

† The author means himſelf again; in the diſcourſe adviſing the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

Since

Since the proclamation occaſioned by my laſt letter, and a due preparation for proceeding againſt me in a court of juſtice, there have been two printed papers clandeſtinely ſpread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by conjecture; which with its uſual charity, lays them to my account. The former is intitled, *Seaſonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand jury, upon the ſuppoſition of a bill to be prepared againſt that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry reſolution of the houſe of Commons in England againſt diſſolving grand juries. As to the former, your Lordſhips will find it to be the work of a more artful hand than that of a common drapier. It hath been cenſured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiaſſed; and for that reaſon it is manifeſt, that no judge was ever known, either upon or off the bench, either by himſelf or his dependents, to uſe the leaſt inſinuation, that might poſſibly affect the paſſions or intereſts of any one ſingle juryman, much leſs of a whole jury; whereof every man muſt be convinced, who will juſt give himſelf the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: ſo as it is amazing to think, what a number of upright judges there have been in both kingdoms for above ſixty years paſt: which, conſidering how long they held their offices during pleaſure, as they ſtill do among us *, I account next to a miracle.

As to the other paper, I muſt confeſs it is a ſharp cenſure from an Engliſh houſe of Commons againſt

* Perhaps this may account for Whitſhed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *Propoſal for the ſole uſe of Iriſh manufactures*; and ſuperadded to the *ſeaſonable advice to the grand jury*, both in this volume.

diſſolving grand juries by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters are under their conſideration and not preſented, as arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and as a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publiſher ſeems to have been miſtaken in what he aimed at. For whatever dependence there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not inſinuate, that the proceedings of a lord chief juſtice in Ireland muſt depend upon a reſolution of an Engliſh houſe of commons. Beſides that reſolution, although it were levelled againſt a particular lord chief juſtice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occaſion was directly contrary. For Scroggs diſſolved the grand jury of London for fear they ſhould preſent; but ours in Dublin was diſſolved becauſe they would not preſent; which wonderfully alters the caſe. And therefore a ſecond grand jury ſupplied that defect by making a preſentment * that pleaſed the whole kingdom. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other jury behaved themſelves in ſuch a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there ſhall be any regard left among us for virtue or public ſpirit.

I am confident your Lordſhips will be of my ſentiments in one thing; that ſome ſhort plain authentic tract might be publiſhed for the information both of petty and grand juries, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of ſuch a treatiſe might be depoſited in every court to be conſulted by the jurymen, before they conſider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniencies would be avoided, whereof innumerable inſtances might be produced

* See the preſentment immediately preceding this letter.

from

from former times; becauſe I will ſay nothing of the preſent.

I have read ſomewhere of an eaſtern king, who put a judge to death for aniniquitous ſentence; and ordered his hide to be ſtuffed into a cuſhion, and placed upon the tribunal for the ſon to ſit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, ſuch a memorial might not have been unuſeful to a ſon of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his ſucceſſors would often wriggle in their ſeats, as long as the cuſhion laſted: I wiſh the relator had told us what number of ſuch cuſhions there might be in that country.

I cannot but obſerve to your Lordſhip, how nice and how dangerous a point it is grown, for a private perſon to inform the people, even in an affair where the public intereſt and ſafety are ſo highly concerned as that of Mr. Wood; and this in a country where loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people, ſeems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the firſt who introduced that *commendable acuteneſs into the court of judicature*; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his ſucceſſors, or ſtrained upon occaſion, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets, unpleaſing to the miniſtry were preſented as libels. he would order the offenſive paragraphs to be read before him; and ſaid it was ſtrange, that the judges and lawyers of the King's-bench ſhould be duller than all the people of England: and he was often ſo very happy in applying the intiail letters of names, and expounding dubious hints, (the two common expedients among writers of that claſs for eſcaping the law), that he diſcovered much more than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their coſt. If ſuch methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the ſubject of Mr. Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my underſtanding and caution

caution to avoid being intrapped; unleſs he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this dilemma; either to let my learned works hang for ever a-drying upon his lines, or venture to publiſh them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordſhips where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the King and the laws permit us to refuſe this coin of Mr. Wood: but at the ſame time it is equally true, that the King and the laws permit us to receive it. Now, it is barely poſſible, that the miniſters in England may not ſuppoſe the conſequences of uttering that braſs among us to be ſo ruinous as we apprehend; becauſe, perhaps, if they underſtood it in that light, they would in common humanity uſe their credit with his Majeſty for ſaving a moſt loyal kingdom from deſtruction. But as long as it ſhould pleaſe thoſe great perſons to think that coin will not be ſo very pernicious to us, we lie under the diſadvantage of being cenſured as obſtinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make uſe of that liberty, which the King and the laws have left us, by continuing to refuſe this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt it, which otherwiſe may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to ſink altogether. For any public order againſt receiving or uttering Mr. Wood's halfpence is not reaſonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from England; which I think no body preſumes, or is ſo ſanguine to hope.

But to confeſs the truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wiſh it were devolved upon my brethren, the makers of ſongs and ballads, who perhaps are the beſt qualified at preſent to gather up the gleanings

ings of this controverſy. As to myſelf, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and purſue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falſehoods of this vile impoſtor Wood in every part, I fooliſhly diſdained to have recourſe to whining, lamenting, and crying for mercy; but rather choſe to appeal to law and liberty, and the common rights of mankind, without conſidering the climate I was in.

Since your laſt reſidence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myſelf to feel an air of freedom breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradeſmen did not qualify me to wait on you at your houſe; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have eſcaped ſeverer cenſures. But I have lately ſold my nag, and honeſtly told his greateſt fault, which was that of ſnuffing up the air about Brackdenſtown; whereby he became ſuch a lover of liberty, that I could ſcarce hold him in. I have likewiſe buried at the bottom of a ſtrong cheſt your Lordſhip's writings under a heap of others that treat of liberty; and ſpread over a layer or two of Hobbes, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that ſtamp, to be readieſt at hand, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to take up a new ſet of principles in government. In the mean time I deſign quietly to look to my ſhop, and keep as far out of your Lorſhip's influence as poſſible: and if ever you ſee any more of my writings on this ſubject, I promiſe you ſhall find them as innocent, as inſipid, and without a ſting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your Lordſhip will give me an eaſy leaſe of ſome part of your eſtate in Yorkſhire, thither will I carry my cheſt: and turning it upſide down, reſume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honeſt Engliſh farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread

of

of the brazen talons of Mr. Wood: my moſt loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe ſo much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to ſerve them. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
From my ſhop in moſt obedient
St. Francis-ſtreet, and moſt humble ſervant,
Dec. 14. 1724. M. B.

Theſe papers (for the ſixth and ſeventh letters were not publiſhed till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithſtanding threats, proſecutions, and impriſonment, againſt all the influence of power, and all the artifices of cunning; perſons of every rank and every ſect united with the drapier in the common cauſe, his health was a perpetual toaſt, and his effigies were diſplayed in every ſtreet; Wood was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his halfpence were totally ſuppreſſed.

A LET-

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

[By many paſſages in the following letter, and by the date Oct. 6. 1724, it appears to have been written ſoon after the proclamation againſt the drapier for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this criſis perhaps the Dean did not chuſe to reſume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was ſigned with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for ſome reaſon the publication of it was delayed, and it was firſt printed in an edition of the Dean's works publiſhed at Dublin in 1735. This however is not the only reaſon why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the laſt; which could not have happened if both had been parts of the ſame ſeries.

The reader will now eaſily account for thoſe paſſages in the ſixth, by which the proſecution againſt Harding appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as paſt.]

My LORD,

I Deſire you will conſider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who ſpeaks to a cauſe when the matter

* He ſigned the proclamation againſt the Drapier.

hath

hath been almoſt exhauſted by thoſe who ſpoke before.

I remember ſome months ago I was at your houſe upon a commiſſion, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not ſo much on account of the commiſſion, as to aſk you ſome queſtions concerning Mr. Wood's patent to coin halfpence for Ireland; where you very freely told me in a mixed company, how much you had been always againſt that wicked project *; which raiſed in me an eſteem for you ſo far, that I went in a few days to make you a viſit after ſo many years intermiſſion. I am likewiſe told, that your ſon wrote two letters from London, (one of which I have ſeen), impowering thoſe to whom they were directed to aſſure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report ſpread, of his engaging himſelf to Mr. Walpole for forty thouſand pounds of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the ſaid report was falſe and groundleſs; and he had never diſcourſed with that miniſter on this ſubject, nor would ever give his conſent to have one farthing of the ſaid coin current here. And although it be long ſince I have given myſelf the trouble of converſing with people of titles or ſtations; yet I have been told by thoſe who can take up with ſuch amuſements, that there is not a conſiderable perſon of the kingdom ſcrupulous in any ſort to declare his opinion. But all this is needleſs to alledge, when we conſider, that the ruinous conſequences of Wood's patent have been ſo ſtrongly repreſented by both houſes of parliament; by the privy council; the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin; by ſo many corporations; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in

* Lord Middleton, though he ſigned the proclamation againſt the Drapier, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by ſeveral paſſages in this letter.

moſt

moſt counties at their quarter-ſeſſions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of theſe halfpence would in the univerſal opinion of our people be utterly deſtructive to this kingdom; and conſequently that it is every man's duty not only to refuſe this coin himſelf, but as far as in him lies, to perſuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print, is all a caſe; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to diſcourſe upon religion or moral ſubjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at leaſt in our church). Neither is this an affair of ſtate, until authority ſhall think fit to declare it ſo: or if you ſhould underſtand it in that ſenſe, yet you will pleaſe to conſider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, ſince the Drapier will probably be no more heard of, ſo far to ſupply his place, as not to incur his fortune; for I have learned from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preſerving both thoſe characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones, to refreſh the memory of my fellow-ſubjects, and keep up that good ſpirit raiſed among them to preſerve themſelves from utter ruin by lawful means, and ſuch as are permitted by his Majeſty.

I believe you will pleaſe to allow me two propoſitions: firſt, that we are a moſt loyal people; and ſecondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a ſubject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in diſcourſe differ much in the preſence of Lord Wharton about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to Ireland. But if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed

would call me to account for, if I venture to beſtow: for I obſerved (and I ſhall never forget upon what occaſion) the device upon his coach to be *Libertas et natale ſolum*, at the very point of time when he was ſitting in his court, and perjuring himſelf to betray both *.

Now, as for our loyalty to his preſent Majeſty, if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am ſure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident he hath not a miniſter in England, who could ever call it once in queſtion; but that ſome hard rumours at leaſt have been tranſmitted from t'other ſide the water, I ſuppoſe you will not doubt: and rumours of the ſevereſt kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. Wood and his emiſſaries: as if he endeavoured it ſhould be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the teſt of refuſing or taking his copper. Now, as I am ſure you will admit us to be a loyal people; ſo you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from ſo gracious a King, that a loyal and free people can expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one, that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we ſhall continue to wiſh, when we dare no longer expreſs our wiſhes: although there were no ſuch mortal as a Drapier in the world.

I am heartily ſorry, that any writer ſhould, in a cauſe ſo generally approved, give occaſion to the government and council to charge him with † "paragraphs highly reflecting upon his Majeſty and "his miniſters; tending to alienate the affections "of his good ſubjects in England and Ireland from "each other; and to promote ſedition among the

* See the addreſs to both houſes of parliament, by M. B. drapier.
† In the drapier's 4th letter.

"people."

"people." I must confess, that with many others I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the drapier is but one man, I shall think I do a public service by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of his pamphlets to reflect on the King or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the King, on the subject of Mr. Wood's coin: for in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his Majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at were the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Walpole. The former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. Wood, before it was passed, although he was then Lord Lieutenant; and therefore I suppose every body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several news-papers; where it is said that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the drapier wholly clears Mr. Walpole of this charge by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion that Mr. Walpole favoured Mr. Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part, never once opened my lips against that minister either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reason for this reservedness was; because it pleased him in the Queen's time, (I mean Queen Anne, of ever-blessed memory), to make a

ſpeech directly againſt me by name in the houſe of Commons, as I was told a very few minutes after in the court of requeſts by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great ſtation here, (if any thing here may be called great), cannot be ignorant, that whoever is underſtood by public voice to be chief miniſter, will among the general talkers ſhare the blame, whether juſtly or no, of every thing that is diſliked; which I could eaſily make appear in many inſtances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the caſe of the * greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt miniſter I ever converſed with.

But, whatever unpleaſing opinion ſome people might conceive of Mr. Walpole on account of thoſe halfpence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirly owing to Mr. Wood. Many perſons of credit come from England have affirmed to me and others, that they have ſeen letters under his hand full of arrogance and inſolence towards Ireland, and boaſting of his favour with Mr. Walpole; which is highly probable; becauſe he reaſonably thought it for his intereſt to ſpread ſuch a report, and becauſe it is the known talent of low and little ſpirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have ſufficiently juſtified the people of Ireland from learning any bad leſſon out of the drapier's pamphlets with regard to his Majeſty and his miniſters: and therefore, if thoſe papers were intended to ſow ſedition among us, God be thanked the ſeeds have fallen upon a very improper ſoil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the drapier, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter juſt as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in

* Suppoſed to be the Lord Treaſurer Oxford.

country

country as in town; and therefore take myſelf to be as well informed as moſt men in the diſpoſitions of each people towards the other. By the people I underſtand here, only the bulk of the common people: and I deſire no lawyer may diſtort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of induſtry and parſimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which added to the eaſineſs of their rents makes them rich and ſturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country ſubject to the King of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Iriſh Papiſts, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops ſent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole iſland were ſunk into the ſea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there muſt be a rebellion in Ireland. I have ſeen the groſſeſt ſuppoſitions paſs upon them; that the wild Iriſh were taken in toils; but that in ſome time they would grow ſo tame, as to eat out of your hands: I have been aſked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Pepperhara, whether I had come from Ireland by ſea: and upon the arrival of an Iriſh man to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to ſee him look ſo much better than themſelves.

A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that paſſing ſome months ago through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonefires, and illuminations; upon aſking the cauſe he was told, it was for joy that the Iriſh had ſubmitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This, I think, plainly ſhews what ſentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own caſe; although they lie directly in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human ſhapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they conſiſt either of Iriſh Papiſts, who are as inconſiderable in point of power as the women and children; or of Engliſh Proteſtants, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from England have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to England upon the ſame deſign?

My ſecond propoſition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I ſuppoſe, you will allow, at leaſt with certain limitations remaining in your own breaſt. However, I am ſure it is not criminal to affirm; becauſe the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the ſubject, are often mentioned in both houſes of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it muſt follow, that the people of Ireland do, or ought to enjoy all the benefits of the common and ſtatute law; ſuch as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own conſent as repreſented in parliament, and the like. If this be ſo, and if it be univerſally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and ſilver; I do not ſee why any man ſhould be hindered from cautioning his countrymen againſt this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have ſecured. If I am miſtaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the drapier's caſe in another light by ſuppoſing, that a perſon going into his ſhop ſhould agree for thirty ſhillings worth of goods, and force the ſeller

to

to take his payment in a parcel of copper pieces intrinſically not worth above a crown: I deſire to know whether the drapier would not be actually robbed of five and twenty ſhillings; and how far he could be ſaid to be maſter of his property? The ſame queſtion may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatſoever.

Give me leave to do what the drapier hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it ſtands in the view of the world.

One William Wood, Eſq; and hardwareman, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000 *l.* in copper to paſs in Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or refuſe. The people here, in all ſorts of bodies and repreſentatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to juſtify theſe declarations they generally offer two reaſons; firſt, becauſe by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice; and, ſecondly, becauſe they are not obliged by law: ſo that you ſee there is *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one ſide, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr. Wood gets the victory at the expenſe of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thouſand pounds (I mean by continuing and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himſelf; I doubt, both preſent and future ages will at leaſt think it a very ſingular ſcheme.

If this fact be truly ſtated, I muſt confeſs I look upon it as my duty, ſo far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-ſubjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin: no not ſo much as one ſingle halfpenny. For, if one ſingle thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And

And while I ſhall be thus employed, I will never give myſelf leave to ſuppoſe that what I ſay can either offend my Lord Lieutenant *, whoſe perſon and great qualities I have always highly reſpected, (as I am ſure his Excellency will be my witneſs), or the miniſters in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much leſs the privy council here; who, as I am informed, did ſend an addreſs to his Majeſty againſt Mr. Wood's coin; which, if it be a miſtake, I deſire I may not be accuſed for a ſpreader of falſe news: but I confeſs, I am ſo great a ſtranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may ſince have been changed: and although I obſerved ſome of the very ſame names in a late declaration againſt that coin, which I ſaw ſubſcribed to the proclamation againſt the drapier, yet poſſibly they may be different perſons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue ſo.

In this controverſy, where the reaſoners on each ſide are divided by St. George's channel, his Majeſty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr. Wood and his advocates had not made it neceſſary by giving out, that the currency of his coin ſhould be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuſe this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it moſt dreadful apprehenſions. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for the drapier to remove this difficulty; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments, (where-ever he picked them up), that the King's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; ſince the law had ſufficiently provided againſt any coin to be impoſed upon the ſubject, except gold and ſilver; and that copper is not mo-

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

ney,

ney, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the drapier having not received any public cenſure, I look upon them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt this deſtructive coin of Mr. Wood. As for this laſt letter, againſt which a proclamation is iſſued; I ſhall only ſay, that I could wiſh it were ſtripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal but being naturally ſomewhat ſlow of comprehenſion, no lawyer, and apt to believe the beſt of thoſe who profeſs good deſigns, without any viſible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without diſtinguiſhing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greateſt offence in this laſt letter * is, where the drapier affirms, that if a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful, as to fix the pretender on the throne of England, he would venture ſo far to tranſgreſs the Iriſh ſtatute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to loſe every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

I ſhall not preſume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would trangreſs a ſtatute, and a ſtatute of ſuch importance: but, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion and deſire of pardon for a very innocent miſtake, I ſhould be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at leaſt ſome ſmall extenuation of his crime; for in this I confeſs myſelf to think with the drapier.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections againſt that pamphlet; but I ſuppoſe they will all appear at the proſecution of the drapier.

* Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

And

And, I think, whoever in his own conſcience believes the ſaid pamphlet to be " wicked and mali-" cious, ſeditious and ſcandalous, highly reflecting " upon his Majeſty and his miniſters, &c." would do well to diſcover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers), although the reward of 300 *l.* had not been tacked to the diſcovery. I own, it would be a great ſatisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this caſe. Becauſe you cannot but know, there often happen occaſions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be informed how they ought to conduct themſelves; and therefore it hath been the wiſdom of the Engliſh parliaments to be very reſerved in limiting the preſs. When a bill is debating in either houſe of parliament, there nothing is more uſual, than to have the controverſy handled by pamphlets on both ſides, without the leaſt animadverſion upon the authors.

So here, in the caſe of Mr. Wood and his coin; ſince the two houſes gave their opinion by addreſſes, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all queſtion both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the ſenſe to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular perſons, to whom God hath given zeal and underſtanding ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking. Thus it happened in the caſe of that deſtructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of ſome without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I ſhould be heartily glad, if ſome able lawyers would preſcribe the limits, how far a private man

man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters: becauſe a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet ſtander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath ſome ſhare in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in ſome degree every ſuch man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wiſh to know whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer ſo much as to mention the prerogative; at leaſt ſo far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatſoever. I know it is often debated in Weſtminſter-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that ſubject in their books.

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the ſubject, which is not Sterling; ſuch as lead, braſs, copper, mixed metal, ſhells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown ſhall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phraſe of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency conſiſteth?

Laſtly, In what points relating to liberty and property the people of Ireland differ, or at leaſt ought to differ, from thoſe of England.

If theſe particulars were made ſo clear, that none could miſtake them, it would be of infinite eaſe and uſe to the kingdom; and either prevent or ſilence all diſcontents.

My Lord Sommers, the greateſt man I ever knew of your robe, and whoſe thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from thoſe of ſome others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown or the privileges of parliament ſhould ever be liable to diſpute in any ſingle branch of either; by which means, he ſaid, the public often ſuffered great inconveniencies,

conveniencies, whereof he gave me ſeveral inſtances. I produce the authority of ſo eminent a perſon to juſtify my deſires, that ſome high points might be cleared.

For want of ſuch known aſcertainment how far a writer may proceed in expreſſing his good wiſhes for his country, a perſon of the moſt innocent intentions may poſſibly by the oratory and comments of lawyers be charged with many crimes, which from his very ſoul he abhors; and conſequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in ſome ſtinking jail, merely for miſtaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my lifetime a printer proſecuted and convicted for publiſhing a pamphlet *, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as thoſe of a martyr at his laſt prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inſpection upon the ſubject of Mr. Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my ſermon gave the leaſt offence, as I am ſure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and publiſhed, I cannot ſay I would inſure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own perſon from thoſe of a meſſenger.

I have heard the late Chief Juſtice Holt affirm, that in all criminal caſes the moſt favourable interpretation ſhould be put upon words that they can poſſibly bear. You meet the ſame poſition aſſerted in many trials for the greateſt crimes; though often very ill practiſed by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave in the old and true ſignification imported only a ſervant; and villain, in Latin, is

* Suppoſed to be, "A propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures," written by the author.

villicus,

villicus, which is no more than a man employed in country-labour, or rather a bailey.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a ſtandard maxim for all times and circumſtances, any writer with a very ſmall meaſure of diſcretion might eaſily be ſafe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at leaſt before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a paſſage of Signor Leti an Italian; who, being in London, buſying himſelf with writing the hiſtory of England, told Charles II. that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impoſſible, although he ſhould have been as wiſe as Solomon. The king anſwered, that if this were the caſe, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public neceſſity of writing; neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worſe, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, becauſe I know it will readily be objected, What have private men to do with the public? What call had a drapier to turn politician, to meddle in matters of ſtate? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his ſhop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? He would then have been out of all danger of proclamations, and proſecutions. Have we not able magiſtrates and counſellors hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addreſſes from both houſes of parliament againſt Mr. Wood's halfpence failed of ſucceſs, if ſome pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refuſing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and inſolence of the coiner, and to lay open the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the ſaid coin, I might appeal

to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frighted, and greedy to swallow misinformations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my King, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the drapier doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. Wood and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs in the drapier's last pamphlet *, (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause), which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the drapier, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. Wood, or his coin.

Therefore concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation, (whether the real author were a real drapier or no, is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr. Wood; at the same time carefully watching, every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public censure of the world as a writer, not of my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed as a criminal.

* The 4th letter.

Whenever

Whenever an order ſhall come out by authority, forbidding all men upon the higheſt penalties to offer any thing in writing or diſcourſe againſt Mr. Wood's halfpence, I ſhall certainly ſubmit. However, if that ſhould happen, I am determined to be ſomewhat more than the laſt man in the kingdom to receive them; becauſe I will never receive them at all: for although I know how to be ſilent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience againſt my conſcience, and the public ſafety.

I deſire to put a caſe, which I think the drapier in ſome of his books hath put before me, although not ſo fully as it requires.

You know the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now ſuppoſe, that, inſtead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to ſome private, obſcure perſon, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. Wood is preparing in this; and all of it at leaſt five times below the intrinſic value: the current money of England is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under * five hundred thouſand pounds: By this computation, as Mr. Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; ſo the patentee in England, by the ſame proportion, might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; beſides as much more by ſtealth and counterfeits. I deſire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addreſſed upon ſuch an occaſion; what ſucceſs they probably would have had; and how many drapiers would have riſen to peſter the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be ſo great a ſufferer as ours in the like caſe; becauſe their caſh would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the cheſts of cautious, thrifty men until

* It is ſince ſunk to 200,000 l.

better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so different a manner in a point of such high importance; whether it be on account of Poining's act; of subordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I shall not confess, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr. Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in England; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase: because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent: and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixed copper at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live at ease and plenty at Pepperhara in Surry; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute, by shewing, without reserve, your disapprobation of Mr. Wood's design; at least, if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers, when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the drapier's observation. If these halfpence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge

charge upon the crown, by creating a neceſſity of tranſmitting money from England to pay the ſalaries at leaſt of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for inſtance) could ſupport his dignity with a thouſand pounds a-year in Wood's coin; which could not intrinſically be worth near two hundred. To argue that theſe halfpence, if no other coin were current, would anſwer the general ends of commerce among ourſelves, is a great miſtake; and the drapier hath made that matter too clear to admit an anſwer, by ſhewing us what every owner of land muſt be forced to do with the products of it in ſuch a diſtreſs. You may read his remarks at large in his ſecond or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but obſerve, that for ſeveral months paſt there have more papers been written in this town, ſuch as they are, all upon the beſt public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in ſo ſhort a time; I ſpeak in general from the drapier down to the maker of ballads: and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am aſſured by perſons of credit, that the beſt ballad upon Mr. Wood will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * declares he never made the drapier any preſent except one pair of ſciſſars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by oppoſing Mr. Wood is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon ſo tranſitory a ſubject and in ſo obſcure a corner of the world, to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author. So that I look upon myſelf, the drapier, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our ſeveral degrees.

* The printer of the Drapier's letters.

All

All that the public can expect for the future is, only to be ſometimes warned to beware of Mr. Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the drapier's reaſons. For a man of the moſt ſuperior underſtanding will find it impoſſible to make the beſt uſe of it, while he writes in conſtraint; perpetually ſoftening, correcting, or blotting out expreſſions, for fear of bringing his printer or himſelf under a proſecution from my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being ſoundly beaten by a weaver for letting a ſtone (which he always carried on his ſhoulder) fall upon a ſpaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the ſame ſpecies.

For theſe reaſons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and inſipid; but if it contributes in the leaſt to preſerve that union among us for oppoſing this fatal project of Mr. Wood, my pains will not be altogether loſt.

I ſent theſe papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain), who after many alterations returned them back with aſſuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the leaſt mixture of treaſon, rebellion, ſedition, malice, diſaffection, reflection, or wicked inſinuation whatſoever.

If the bellman of each pariſh, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *Paſt twelve o'clock; beware of Wood's halfpence*; it would probably cut off the occaſion of publiſhing any more pamphlets, provided that in country-towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as ſoon as it ſhall be determined, that it is not againſt law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St, Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority ſhall think fit to forbid all writings or diſcourſes upon all ſubjects, except ſuch as are in favour of Mr. Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; only

only when I am in danger of burſting, I will go and whiſper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wiſdom of my countrymen; but only theſe few words. BEWARE OF WOOD's HALFPENCE.

I am,

With due reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant.

Deanery-houſe,
Oct. 26. 1724.

J. S.

END of VOL. III.

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